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ABSTRACT

This special issue of a journal on language teaching and cross-cultural communication includes both regular articles and forum essays. Regular feature articles include: "Is Japanese English Education Changing?" (Yoshie Aiga); "Textual Schemata and English Language Learning" (S. Kathleen Kitao); "Visuals and Imagination" (Alan Maley); "Oral Language Taping and Analysis for Teacher Training" (Elizabeth Leone); "Who Does What With Errors?" (Joyce M. Taniguchi); "Expanding the Intercultural Perspective" (William McOmie); and "Rapid-Fire Questions for Better Communication" (Robert Ruud). Forum essays on the topic "The Globalization of Higher Education" include "An American Comprehensive Public University Linked with a Japanese Municipality" (Jared Dorn); "The Internationalization of an American University" (William G. Davey, Lynne A. McNamara); "An American Community College in Japan" (Anthony Butera); "An American University English Language Institute in Japan" (Steven Brown, Dorolyn Smith); "Teaching in Japan: Excerpts from the Temple University Japan 'Faculty Guide'" (William F. Sharp); "Review of 'Profiting from Education'" (Scott Jarrett); "The Role and Value of Accreditation in American Higher Education: At Home and Abroad" (Majorie Peace Lenn); "Preparing Malaysian Students for American University Education" (Janice Nersinger); and "The Globalization of Education: A Malaysian Perspective" (Terry Fredrickson). Book reviews, publication announcements, and calendar announcements are included. (MSE)

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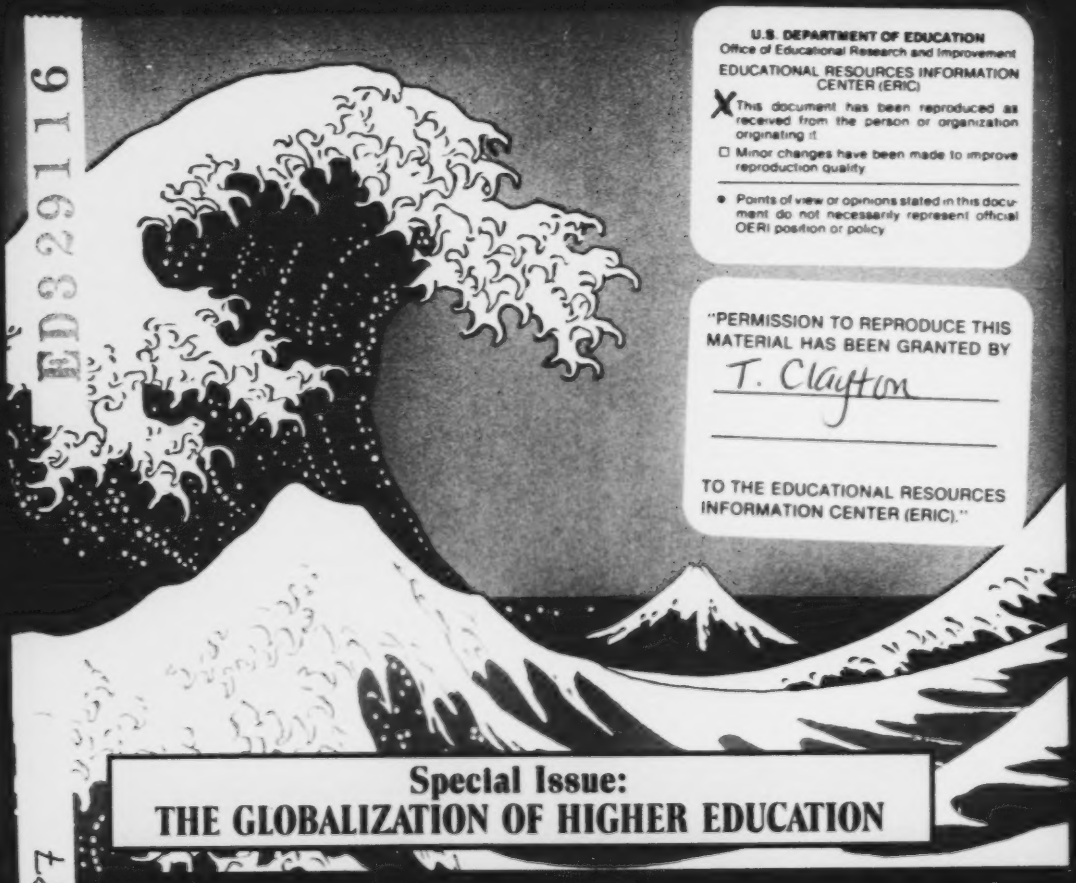

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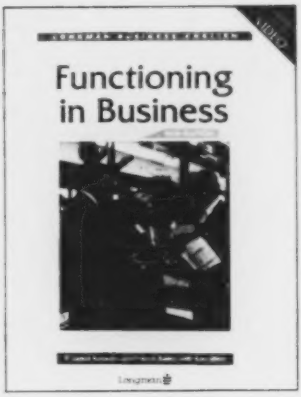

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CROSS CURRENTS 言語

An International Journal of
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Volume XVII, Number 2, Fall 1990

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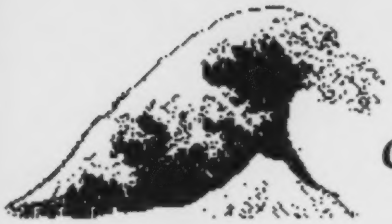

ABOUT CROSS CURRENTS

Cross Currents is a biannual publication of the Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) which provides a forum for the interdisciplinary exchange of ideas within the areas of cross-cultural communication, language skill acquisition, and language skill instruction.

Areas of Interest. At *Cross Currents*, we are particularly interested in issues concerned with both theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL acquisition and instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, international English language teaching with special emphasis on Japan, and English as an International Language.

Submissions. All submissions to *Cross Currents* should conform to the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (Third Edition) and should be submitted in triplicate. Please include a brief abstract of the article, a short biographical sketch, and a cover letter with author's address and telephone and fax numbers. Manuscripts may be submitted on MacWrite or MS Word (Apple software) or on WordPerfect or WordStar (IBM software) word processing programs. All submissions will be acknowledged. Diskettes will be returned. Manuscripts with SASE will be returned.

Articles. Submissions should be ten to 20 pages in length and should address some issue relevant to our areas of interest. *Cross Currents* appreciates scholarship in a variety of forms, though the publication of clear, insightful, and thought-provoking writing is our primary goal. In the past, we have published articles ranging in style from personal, authoritative opinions, to reviews of published literature in particular TESOL fields, to academic research studies. All submissions should be accessible to a diverse audience.

Bright Ideas. Submissions should be five to ten pages in length and should discuss practical English language classroom successes and ideas clearly and simply for the benefit of interested language teachers.

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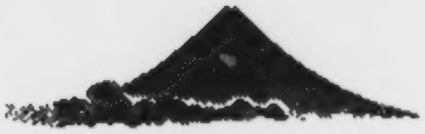


ABOUT THIS ISSUE

Volume 17, Number 2 is the second in *Cross Currents*' contemporary series of special focus publications which consider issues in international language education. In this issue, we examine "The Globalization of Higher Education," the phenomenon wherein institutions of higher education from the United States establish branch campuses with government or private partners in other countries. This is a particularly pertinent issue for Japan in the early 1990s, as there has been an explosion of branch campus activity in the last year. The forum, "The Globalization of Higher Education," begins on page 189; individual contributors are presented in the introductory essay.

Cross Currents' lead article, "Is Japanese English Education Changing?," page 139, examines the history of English language education in Japan—a chronology which may surprise some English language teachers. Author Yoshie Aiga concludes with a discussion of the direction of Japanese English education in the near future.

In "Textual Schemata and English Language Learning," page 147, author S. Kathleen Kitao introduces the cognitive concept of reading schema theory, concentrating on textual, or what some researchers call "formal," schemata. In her final section, Kitao discusses the implications of textual schemata for Japanese English language teachers and learners.

Alan Maley's contribution, "Visuals and Imagination," is the third article in this issue of *Cross Currents*. Beginning on page 155, Maley acquaints the reader with the pioneering work of Lionel Billows and outlines many methods for the use of visuals in the language classroom. In a final appendix, Maley provides a set of activities to help teachers get started using visuals in language teaching.

In "Oral Language Taping and Analysis for Teacher Training," page 161, author Elizabeth Leone outlines an experiential approach to teacher training. Drawing on experience in training bilingual education teachers in the United States, Leone discusses a method for providing basic linguistic training to practicing teachers in in-service training seminars. This article will certainly be of interest to teacher trainers in Japan.

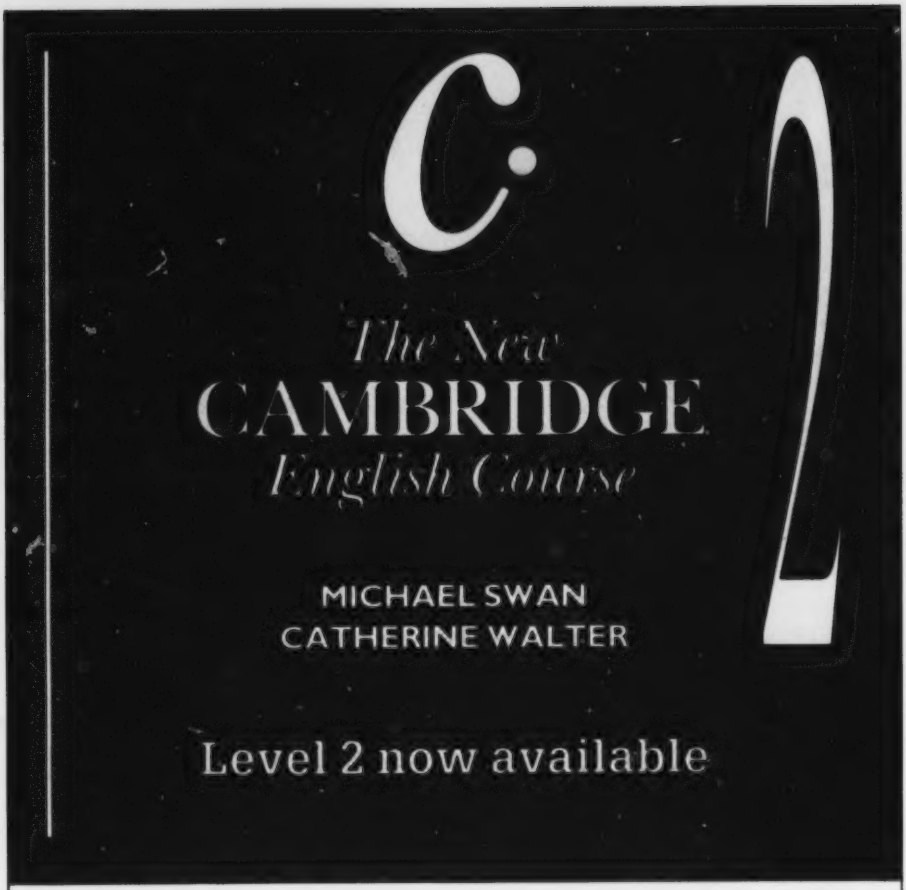
Joyce M. Taniguchi's article, "Who Does What With Errors?," page 171, examines current theory on errors in ESL/EFL writing. Citing many classroom observations, Taniguchi provides the reader with a number of suggestions for handling written errors in English as a second or foreign language.

The final article in this issue of *Cross Currents* is "Expanding the Intercultural Perspective," page 177. In this article, author William McOmie presents an alternative model for understanding intercultural communication. McOmie examines the implications of his model for teachers of intercultural communication in the final section of this article.

Our Bright Idea in this issue of *Cross Currents* is "Rapid-Fire Questions for Better Communication," written by Robert Ruud. Beginning on page 185, Ruud gives a rationale and an explanation for the use of Rapid-Fire Questions in language learning. Specific suggestions are given for teachers who would like to try this technique in their own classes.

Cross Currents Volume 17, Number 2 concludes with reviews by Robert O'Neill, Paul Jaquith, Sarah Parsons, and Curtis Chapman of *Cognitive Linguistics*, *Humanism in Language Teaching*, *The New Cambridge English Course*, *East West*, and *Three Little Words*. The review section begins on page 229.

We hope you enjoy this special focus issue of *Cross Currents*. We will examine "Issues in Refugee Education" in our next publication, Volume 18, Number 1, Spring 1991.



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LETTERS

Professionalism in International English Language Teaching

IN ALL THE DISCUSSION OF WHAT IT MEANS TO be a professional language teacher (Forum, *Cross Currents 17*[1]), there was no explicit mention of the idea that language teachers might be more effective if they'd studied, learned, or acquired a foreign language or two.

MONTY VIERRA
Hiroshima, Japan

MICHAEL REDFIELD'S ARTICLE, "JAPANESE University Hiring Practices and the Masters in TEFL" (*Cross Currents 17*[1]), raised a number of points which merit discussion.

The system of hiring by recommendation is not without obvious flaws, but it also has a number of positive aspects. The recommender is usually held responsible, to a greater or lesser extent, for those whom he or she has recommended for employment. If an employee proves to be hopeless, the recommending party will inevitably incur explicit or implied obloquy. Recommenders can't be too silly or they'll lose face in the eyes of colleagues.

Probably the most important questions a Japanese professor asks himself about a prospective junior colleague—foreign or Japanese—are, "Will this person fit in? Will we feel comfortable working with him or her?" Irrelevant though this may seem to some foreign teachers, group harmony is considered far more important than the somewhat hypothetical benefits of having professionally qualified foreign teachers.

It is also quite common for a university or college professor to want to employ teachers who are of varying nationalities. In a small women's college, for example, there might be one North American, one Antipodean, and one teacher from the British Isles. If two were male, the third would be female; if two were female, the third would be male. While this may sound like discrimination on grounds of gender or nationality, the system is reasonably fair and usually works as well as hiring on the strength of qualifications.

Foreigners, especially those teaching in provincial women's colleges, are hired to be "pandas" or "unicorns" as much as language instructors; many students in such a place have literally never spoken to, or even been close to, a foreigner before they started classes in their college. This being the case, the attitude of the Western teacher is usually of far more real importance than his or her formal qualifications: A willingness to be playful and friendly, to listen to students outside the confines of the classroom, and to participate in activities like speech contests matters more than a detailed knowledge of linguistics.

As many colleagues will have noticed, real progress on the part of language students seems to bear little or no relationship to their teacher's qualifications. While it might be ideal, as Michael Redfield believes, for a university or college to employ only qualified language teaching specialists, a clear case can be made for hiring teachers from a wider variety of backgrounds and academic disciplines. We have all met the TEFL specialist who knows all about TEFL and very little about anything else, just as we have all met the experienced, fully qualified professional who is distant, offhand, or even hostile towards his or her students, and whose idea of true happiness is to have as little to do with students as possible.

Lastly, I question the sanity of those who offer the panacea of TESOL certification. A

moment's thought about what it would entail in reality, how much it would cost, how it would be administered, and so forth is sufficient to dismiss the notion once and for all.

WILLIAM CORR
Assistant Professor, English Department
Himeji Gakuin Women's Junior College
Fukusakicho, Japan

AT PRESENT, I FIT THOMAS CLAYTON'S DEFInition of an "unreal" TESOL teacher ("International Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages: Where is Our Profession Going?," *Cross Currents 16*[2]). I have neither specialized knowledge of linguistics, education, or other related fields, nor do I have advanced academic training as a teacher. This has not prevented me from teaching for the past few years, but because I recognize and at least partially agree with Mr. Clayton's arguments, I am in the process of becoming a "real" TESOL teacher. I, too, am convinced, having learnt the hard way, that one does not become a TESOL teacher simply by virtue of being a native speaker of the English language. The problem, however, isn't really to convince ourselves, the teachers, but to convince the rest of the world (people like me four years ago) that untrained people not only cannot teach to their maximum ability, but that they also cheat those they do teach of a proper education.

I often look back with dismay on my first two years of teaching English to postgraduate doctors in Wuhan, the People's Republic of China. Those students gave me the necessary experience I needed to come to Macau and teach at the University of East Asia—but at what cost to their education? With the experience and knowledge that I now have, how much more effective would my teaching have been? Yet, I was given those students to teach because I was "a foreigner, a native speaker," and therefore a better TESOL teacher than the many well-trained teachers already working at the university. The logic of this decision now escapes me, though it is common in China: The foreigner—trained or not—is consistently given the better students. In my case, I was given doctors and scientists, the cream of the nation. I can now recognize the importance of training and a proper educational background in TESOL teaching, and it is precisely because of my own inexperience and the horror of my own presumptions that I have come round to agree with Clayton's arguments.

On page 57 of Clayton's paper, when discussing the "case for the status quo," he writes that "expertise and academic training are not necessary requirements to successful TESOL teaching." While this is a common assumption, I disagree with it. I need only look to the changes in my own teaching to find examples to disprove this statement. The fields of phonetics and phonology provide teachers with practical methods to teach students sounds and pronunciation patterns. When students have trouble with voiced and unvoiced pairs, I now can explain the difference by demonstrating how the voiced consonants produce vibrations. The students find it quite amusing to see themselves clutching their throats to feel the difference—but it works.

There are many other examples to demonstrate this, not just in terms of practical classroom methods, but also in terms of basic theories of education. A good teacher needs to have some knowledge of the different teaching methodologies and approaches that have developed over the years in order to best choose for herself and her students what fits a particular situation best. A good teacher needs to know the different learner strategies that her students will bring to the classroom and how best to cope with each of those students. In short, there are many facets of academic training that allow teachers to really become teachers and not just act as guides or models.

A number of these were identified by Peter Strevens in a presentation at the 7th Annual IATEFL Conference in London, 1973. Strevens separated the different aspects of teacher training into three components: the skills component, the information component, and the theory component. The skills component includes command of the target language, teach-

ing techniques and classroom management, and the "management of learning," which Strevens identified as the ability to assess individual student progress and the ability to manage a classroom with different types of learners who may learn at different speeds.

The information component includes methodological information, information about the syllabus, and information about the language, including a description of the language. Without this background, the teacher is like a blind man leading the blind, most likely unable to answer a student's question with much more than "I don't know; that's just the way we say it in English."

The theory component is self-explanatory, but is meant to include the disciplines of linguistics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics, as well as psychology and education. Strevens noted that not all teachers would gain much from these theoretical studies and that perhaps they should be limited to teachers who are interested in teaching more advanced learners or to teachers whose programs are long enough to allow for advanced theoretical studies. Strevens also recommended the approach of applied linguistics, which attempts to include those aspects of theory considered most relevant to classroom teaching.

I would also like to address the issue of different training for different purposes. Clayton points to the fact that not all TESOL teaching is geared to academics, and he asks us to consider whether nonacademic TESOL should require academically trained TESOL teachers. The implication, though not Clayton's own, is that such nonacademically oriented teaching need not require any training at all. Functional, conversational English can be taught by anyone—after all, it is not so important, is it?

Wrong. Functional, conversational English is all too often put at the bottom of a list of priorities when it should be at the top. Functional skills are the basics on which we build; without a good foundation a building will collapse. It stands to reason, therefore, that teachers "only" teaching conversational or functional skills need to be equally well trained. I do believe that an experienced nonprofessional can act as a guide and model for students. An inexperienced nonprofessional, however, must use trial and error to discover what works. In essence, the students become guinea pigs, and their valuable time, as well as the teacher's, may all too easily be wasted.

This leads to the topic of professionalism. Like Clayton, I feel that it is unfair to automatically consider nonacademically trained teachers to be unprofessional. During my time in Wuhan, I acted professionally. I took my responsibilities seriously, I treated my students, colleagues, and superiors with respect, I read every book available in Wuhan on language teaching, and I attended the few conferences and seminars that were run. Likewise, I met more than a few trained teachers that I would not have considered professional. Professionalism has as much to do with personal integrity as with formal education and training and should not be viewed as the exclusive domain of certificate or degree holders.

I also agree with the argument presented in Clayton's paper that it is "not only the *right*, but also the *responsibility*, of the academy to define professional qualification" (p. 59). The proponents of this argument, according to Clayton, feel this is necessary "in order to ensure the excellence and growth of international TESOL as a profession" (p. 58).

I would like to take that one step further and argue that this is necessary not only to serve our needs as professionals, but also to serve our students' needs as learners. If administrators do not ensure on their own that only qualified teachers are teaching, then it becomes the teachers' responsibility to change this unfortunate state of affairs in order to protect students. In China, no one protects students; they are given as language teachers anyone who happens to want to "experience" a year in China. As a result, their education suffers. Administrators and educators alike must decide that the expense of a trained teacher is worthwhile.

A caveat which must be added to this argument is that the definition of a "trained teacher" need not include only bachelor's or master's

degree holders. I would hate to see a situation where only university-trained people were considered qualified. Of equal value are graduates of teacher training schools such as the International House and diploma programs such as the Royal Society of Arts. People are all too often misled by the letters behind a person's name. To illustrate: I recently had an unsettling discussion with a visiting professor here at the University of East Asia. She has taught here for a year now and has recently completed a study of the junior college multilevel English program. Yet she asked me the other day when I would be finishing my MAL—Master of Arts in Literature! Letters can be deceptive, and people tend to believe in their value no matter what they stand for.

To conclude, although I started off in the TESOL teaching profession by slipping in through China's open door, I would like to see an end to the sort of situation where demand outstrips supply to the extent that any living, breathing, English-speaking adult can become a TESOL teacher for six months, a year, or a lifetime. I too, like Mr. Clayton, am tired of declaring that I am an English teacher when the response is so often scorn. I have had the following conversation countless times and would very much like to see an end to its standard conclusion:

"And what do you do in Macau?"

"I teach English."

"Oh." End of conversation, and end of respect. I too deserve respect for the job I do, even though it may be founded on my ability to speak my native language. Natural abilities aside, there is quite a bit more to successful TESOL teaching than the casual observer would suspect. Our profession does need to establish some minimum degree of qualifications, not only to establish our own professionalism, but also to ensure quality education for current and future learners of English.

BARBARA WEISSMANN
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University of East Asia
Macau

IN *ENGLISH TODAY*, 6(3), THERE IS A REPRINT of an article by Thomas Clayton on the issue of *real* and *unreal* TESOL teachers.[1] Clayton is concerned about the proliferation of what he calls *unreal* English teachers—those who do not have knowledge or training but who are nevertheless employed to teach simply because they are native speakers of the language.

According to Clayton (1990), however, a *real* TESOL teacher should possess not only native speaker proficiency but also "specialized knowledge of linguistics, education, or some other related field...[and] advanced academic training as a teacher" (p. 28). In order to ensure that the reputation of the international TESOL profession will not be affected by teachers who do not have the necessary qualifications, he suggests the possibility of establishing a "universally recognized standard, perhaps a license or a credential, which represents advanced academic and teaching training and which is necessary for admission into the practicing profession" (p. 28).

As a practicing language teacher, I strongly support the idea of a universally accepted TESOL license. I hold this view not so much because I query the ability of untrained native speakers, but because I want to secure recognition for my own professional qualifications. I am a trained, nonnative-speaking English teacher teaching in a nonnative-speaking country; I hold a B.A. in English Studies and an M. Phil. in TESOL, and I have six years of teaching experience. Still, automatic recognition of my professional status as a *real* English teacher is not something that can be taken for granted.

Who is an unreal *teacher?*

For Clayton, the distinction between a *real* and an *unreal* teacher lies in whether or not the person has an academic qualification. However, for some people in Hong Kong, and probably elsewhere, the distinction lies in

[1] Reprinted from "International Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages: Where is Our Profession Going?," *Cross Currents*, *16*(2), 55-61.

whether or not the person is native speaking (NS) or nonnative speaking (NNS). As a NNS English teacher, I consider decisions based on this distinction a challenge to my professional status.

Fortunately, thanks to the popularity of language learning and the scarcity of NS teachers in Hong Kong, NNS teachers do not yet have to compete with NS teachers for jobs. However, it does hurt my professional pride when I see advertisements like the following.

> Native English teacher. Part time for a play school to teach children aged two to six.
>
> European/American is required to teach English conversation full or part time. Experience not necessary.
>
> Business English courses. All courses consist of ten three-hour training sessions conducted by highly qualified, native-speaking trainers.

These are typical advertisements circulated by language schools in Hong Kong to recruit learners and teachers. In all cases, the role of NS teachers is highlighted; this role seems to be the key attraction for potential learners.

The concept that NS language teachers necessarily provide students with a better education than NNS teachers is even championed by some experts in education. For instance, a panel of internationally prominent educationalists, when assigned by the Hong Kong Government to study the local language situation and give suggestions for improvement, offered the following recommendations:

> We recommend that the standard of English teachers and the quality of English teaching in schools should be improved by the recruitment of expatriate lecturers in English for the Colleges of Education and the Institute of Language in Education. In addition ...we recommend that secondary schools should be encouraged to employ locally available native English speakers with teaching qualifications to teach English. (Hong Kong Education Commission, 1984, p. 13)

Is native speaker proficiency necessary?

Nonnative-speaking English teachers, no matter how conscientious they are, suffer from one fatal defect: lack of native speaker proficiency. Because of this, mistrust and hostility between NS and NNS teachers are not uncommon. For example, an ex-colleague of mine from England writes that "many Hongkong teachers...themselves have such difficulties [with English] that much of their teaching is misleading and serves to promote local nonstandardisms and...poor English" (Newbrook, 1988, p. 11). Quirk (1990) also worries about the English taught by local teachers in such countries as India and Nigeria. He observes that "the English of [these] teachers...inevitably bears the stamp of locally acquired deviation from the standard language" (p. 8).

But is it realistic to exclude all NNS teachers from the ranks of *real* teachers simply because they do not possess native speaker proficiency? Is native speaker proficiency attainable? To answer this question, let us examine the experiment by Coppieters, cited in Quirk (1990). In this experiment, the linguistic competence of a group of highly proficient nonnative speakers of French was compared with that of native speakers. Though the NNS subjects had a high level of performance in French, used French as their working language, and had resided in France for an average of 17 years, their test scores were significantly lower than those of native speakers. The implication is that native speaker proficiency is practically unachievable for nonnative speakers.

If native speaker proficiency is unattainable, it is simply impractical to expect NNS teachers to possess this ability before they are considered *real* teachers qualified to teach the language. This is particularly true when the language taught is mainly used for international communication—communication in English in a NNS country among speakers of different native languages.

In fact, Quirk (1981) also realizes the impossibility of teaching the full native model on a mass scale or expecting everybody to possess native speaker proficiency. He therefore sug-

gests that a simpler, adapted form of the native variety—Nuclear English—should be taught instead. This is more practical because, while native intuition of a natural language may be unattainable for NNS teachers, a variety of the language which can be described in a finite set of rules and patterns is a tangible target.

Proficiency certificate for NNS teachers

If native speaker proficiency is not considered a prerequisite for TESOL teachers, then the issue of *real* and *unreal* teachers can be easily resolved. Clayton's suggestion of establishing a universally recognized standard can be one of the solutions. This standard would represent not only relevant academic and teaching training but also, for all NNS teachers, a high level of linguistic proficiency.

In order to ensure that all teachers in the TESOL profession possess the necessary linguistic qualification, an international body, such as the International Governing Organization of TESOL suggested by Clayton, could be established. This body could formulate a reference grammar and a set of usage patterns for teachers. This standard of reference could also serve as a minimum proficiency requirement for all TESOL teachers. Only those who could satisfy this requirement, by passing certain tests, for example, would be granted a proficiency certificate, an official recognition of their linguistic qualification. This certificate, together with other relevant diplomas in teacher training, would put NNS teachers in the ranks of *real* teachers. In the teaching of English for international communication in a NNS country, they would enjoy the same professional status as NS teachers.

Advantages in granting a TESOL license

The granting of a universally recognized TESOL license to *real* teachers, whether NS or NNS, would:

1. ensure high quality in the TESOL profession. NS teachers without training and trained NNS teachers without the required language proficiency would be excluded from the profession—at least from the better institutions and language schools;
2. safeguard the jobs of NNS *real* teachers. If employers understood that a NNS *real* teacher had exactly the same professional qualifications as his or her NS counterpart, they would be more willing to recruit NNS teachers, especially if it cost less. (In Hong Kong, for example, although local NNS and expatriate NS teachers may be on the same salary scale, NS teachers are usually entitled to fringe benefits such as a housing allowance and airfare);
3. enhance the morale of the language learners. As Julian Edge (1988) suggests, "the best model for the students is not a foreigner speaking his or her native language but the [local] teacher effectively communicating in a foreign language" (p. 155). If the learners realized that their local teacher, someone with whom they shared a common language background, had achieved a language proficiency sufficient and appropriate for a TESOL license, they would be more confident of their own success in learning the language;
4. boost the morale of the language teachers themselves. At present, there is no internationally recognized organization to oversee and accredit the linguistic proficiency of NNS teachers. In any matter of dispute relating to the language, native speakers become the sole authority and overrule NNS teachers. This is particularly true with language questions to which no clear answer can be found in standard reference grammar books. An international TESOL organization would provide official accreditation to NNS *real* teachers and give their confidence and morale a big boost.

Conclusion

Perhaps no one will dispute the fact that English is, and will continue to be, the world's most important lingua franca. In order to further enhance this international role, we will have to rely not only on a handful of NS teachers, but also, and more importantly, on

NNS teachers who constitute a majority in the TESOL profession. Instead of treating NNS teachers as second best, as is now the case, we should acknowledge their contribution and recognize their professional status.

To sum up, I strongly support Clayton's idea of establishing a universally accepted TESOL license for all qualified teachers. If it is the goal of international TESOL to become a recognized and respected profession, it should not be monopolized by any one group, but should be made accessible to all, native speakers and nonnative speakers, as long as they possess the necessary qualifications.

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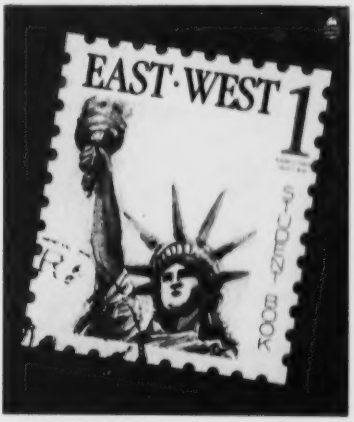

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Is Japanese English Education Changing?

Yoshie Aiga

English language teaching methods and techniques have been shifting, internationally, from a traditional approach to a communicative approach. But is this really happening in Japanese English classes?

I would like to start my discussion by citing three stories which represent different facets of Japanese English language use. Then, I would like to look at the historical background of English language teaching in Japan and explore the reasons why communicative competence has been underemphasized. Finally, I would like to present some suggestions for Japanese teachers of English.

Three Stories

Intercultural basketball

The first story is from a talk with a young American AET (Assistant English Teacher) in Kanagawa Prefecture who is crazy about playing basketball. Luckily for him, he was given the chance to be a member of a community basketball club. The morning after his first meeting with the club, he came into my office with less energy than usual. According to him, what he had experienced was quite different than what he had expected. He had thought that the club members would play basketball games, and that was what he had really wanted to do. But what they had actually done was mostly drills—passing balls, running shots, etc. He commented that there must be differences, even in basketball, between countries.

His remarks interested me. After several weeks, I realized that the way of practicing he described was not an idiosyncrasy of his club, but is often the case in Japan. When I met a PE teacher and he told me something about training players, the AET's words—"If we had played games, the get-together would have been much more fun"—came to my mind.

Aren't our English students similarly disappointed because they too do isolated drills and practice without ever playing the real game? The following statistics give some idea about what is often done in classrooms.

Table 1, below, and Table 2, top of page 140, are based on a questionnaire answered by 250 junior high school teachers in Kanagawa Prefecture about their usual English classes in 1988 (Kiyota & Aiga, 1989).

Table 1 shows the time allocation of various activites in a typical 50-minute class period. As the table shows, presentation of new words and grammar points and comprehension of the text (reading and translation) occupy almost half of the lesson period. We can infer that these elements are emphasized for the purpose of helping students comprehend the linguistic features of the day's text. Only one fifth of the lesson period, however, is spent on practicing.

TABLE 1
Average Time Allocation in a 50-Minute Lesson

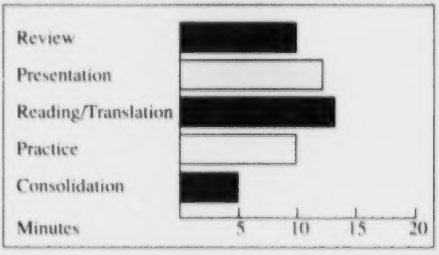

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TABLE 2
Frequency of Activities: Always ■ Often □ Sometimes ■ Rarely □

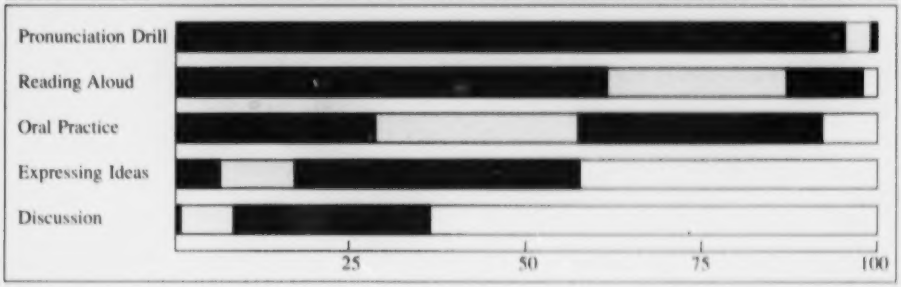

Table 2 shows that pronunciation drills and reading aloud are most frequently performed, whereas expressing ideas or participating in discussions happens far less often.

Through Tables 1 and 2, we can see that most of the average lesson period is spent on mechanical drills and on the teacher's explanations, rather than on communicative activities. Based on these data, we may say that there is some similarity between the AET's basketball experience and the current system of learning English in Japan. Both are skills which are practiced more than played.

Fear of making errors

The second illustration is taken from a lecture by a Japanese professor of linguistics, Nobuyuki Honna (1989), at a seminar for senior high school English teachers at the Kanagawa Prefectural Education Center. In his lecture "Language and Culture," Honna referred to a Japanese attitude towards speaking foreign languages. One of his examples was about some Japanese businessmen's wives living in the United States who hesitated to speak English and avoided being involved in the community. When Honna asked these women why they hesitated to use English, they replied that their command of the language was not good enough.

Unfortunately, this attitude is quite common. Feeling insecure because of inaccuracy and poor fluency, many Japanese hesitate to use English or to get involved in cross-cultural communication. Their fear of making mistakes works as an affective filter, debilitating their confidence in communicating through English.

Honna noted that it is a Japanese tendency to appreciate an output which is as close as possible to the model presented in the process of learning. That is, an output which is identical to the presented model is most valued. Thus, Japanese language learners are apt to worry about mistakes and poor fluency when far away from their intended goal.

Team teaching

The third example can be contrasted with the above two episodes. In a study by the Institute for Research in Language Teaching (1988), Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) were asked if there were any differences between students before and after the JTE started team teaching with native-speaking assistant English teachers (AETs) from the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program. The JTEs observed many favorable reactions in their students: Students hesitated less in using English with native speakers; students' motivation to learn English increased; students looked forward to the next team taught class; students' interest in learning English increased; and students reacted more enthusiastically in English classes.

According to students' reactions, the pro-

gram to introduce native-speaking AETs into Japanese English classes has been received favorably, providing an increased number of students with real opportunities to use English as a means of communication.

To the question of whether JTEs were satisfied with team teaching, however, answers varied. About 50% of the junior high school JTEs and 34% of the senior high school JTEs answered that they were satisfied. But half the junior high school JTEs and more than half the senior high school JTEs had reservations about team teaching, saying that they were not sure how to team teach effectively (Institute for Research in Language Teaching, 1988, p. 27).

In 1987, when this research was done, the JET program was only one year old, and the phrase "team teaching" was unfamiliar to many teachers. But during these past three years, a considerable number of seminars, lectures, and publications about team teaching have been offered; today team teaching is a much-debated topic. The number of teachers who have team taught at least once has dramatically increased. I believe, therefore, that the Institute for Research in Language Teaching results listed above would differ if teachers were questioned today.

One question in a 1989 survey by the Kanagawa Prefectural Education Center (Kiyota & Aiga, 1990) reveals this increasingly positive attitude. Two hundred senior high school teachers were asked whether the introduction of AETs into the classroom was an effective means of improving student language skills. Ninety percent responded that AETs helped students improve listening comprehension skills; 86% responded that AETs helped students improve speaking skills; 81% responded that AETs helped students improve reading skills; and 69% responded that AETs helped students improve writing skills (p. 28). These figures show that teachers today do regard team teaching as effective.

Changes and questions

The first two stories represent a more traditional and typical approach to English education in Japan: Practice makes perfect. In the first example, emphasis is put on the importance of practice; in the second example, value is put on the result of practice. The third example, in contrast, represents the current approach. More imaginative and communicative foreign language teaching methodology is gradually being made available to students.

It is clear that something is changing in Japanese English classes. But why, in spite of the long-term criticism of the Japanese weakness in English language listening and speaking skills, has this change been so long in coming? In order to explore this, I would like to briefly discuss the history of English language teaching in Japan.

Historical Background

When we trace the history of Japanese English language teaching for the last 70 years, we find some conspicuous forerunners who made great contributions to Japanese English education by devising teaching materials, introducing methods and approaches, and aiding Japanese students to learn English effectively. When we study these early teachers, we realize that what they advocated was not teaching English for the purpose of reading or writing, but teaching English for the purpose of communicative competence.

H.E. Palmer was invited to Japan from London University as linguistic advisor to the Japanese Ministry of Education and was appointed the first director of the Institute for Research in English Teaching (today's Institute for Research in Language Teaching). Palmer stayed in Japan from 1922 to 1936 and was responsible for introducing the Oral Method around the country. Palmer described three steps in language learning: 1) receiving knowledge; 2) fixing knowledge in the memory by repetition; and 3) using the knowledge in real practice. He said that teachers can teach the first two steps in the classroom and the third step will be done in real life (Ito, 1982).

C.C. Fries, who was a professor at the University of Michigan, was invited to come to Japan in 1956 as a member of the Specialists'

Conference on English Teaching in Japan. Fries' visit to Japan ushered in a new phase in English classes in Japanese junior high schools under the name of the Fries' Method or the Oral Approach. Fries (1977) clarified the goal of the Oral Approach as "the ability to use the language" (p. 9) and talked about the importance of carefully designed oral exercises. He also suggested three steps in language learning practice: 1) mimicry-memorization of the teacher's prompt; 2) practice choosing the proper structure; and 3) automatic unconscious use of the appropriate structure (Fries, 1977).

We can see that both Palmer and Fries put their primary emphasis on teaching language orally. According to Ito (1988), both Palmer and Fries encouraged accurate pronunciation and grammar in spoken language, while at the same time stressing fluency. Both Palmer and Fries claimed that these procedures helped also to develop reading and writing skills.

Since the late 1950s, Fries' Oral Approach has become widely known in Japan. But gradually, mechanical drills, such as substitution drills and pattern practices, were separated out as if they alone were the aim of teaching English. Unfortunately, this left the holistic intentions of Palmer and Fries behind.

In the early 1960s, Chomsky's transformational grammar was brought to Japan. In the second half of the 1960s, studies were published which attempted to improve school English lessons through the application of the theories of transformational grammar (see, for example, Osawa, 1967). In part, the introduction of transformational grammar into the classroom was a critical reaction to the Oral Approach which had, by then, degenerated into simple pattern practice. However, transformational grammar had little impact.

In 1964, W.M. Rivers' *The Psychologist and the Foreign-Language Teacher* warned of the danger of overemphasis on mechanical drills in the audiolingual method. In 1968, Rivers' *Teaching Foreign-Language Skills* was published and suggested ideas and interactive activities to lead students to the stage of real communication. In 1972, *Teaching Foreign-Language Skills* was translated into Japanese as *Gaikokugo Shuutoku no Skill: Sono Oshiekata*. However, Rivers' ideas, like those of transformational grammar, did not catch on.

In the 1970s, various methods, such as The Silent Way and Counseling Learning, appeared and created intellectual interest. However, these methods were not used extensively in Japanese English language classrooms.

In the 1980s, the Notional Syllabus and the Communicative Approach became known widely in Japan. Wilkins' *Notional Syllabuses* (1976) and Johnson and Morrow's *Communication in the Classroom* (1981) were both translated into Japanese in 1984; they are *Notional Syllabus* and *Communicative Approach to Eigo Kyouiku*, respectively. S.D. Krashen came to Japan in the early 1980s, and *Language Two* (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982) was translated into Japanese as *Dai Ni Gengo no Shuutoku* (1984). In 1986, Krashen and Terrell's *The Natural Approach* (1983) was translated into Japanese as *Natural Approach no Susume*.

In looking at the history of English language teaching in Japan over the last 70 years, we see a large gap between theory and practice. The original aim of teaching English in Japan was not mere translation or mechanical drills, but was to teach students to integrate the four skills, putting priority on listening and speaking, for communicative purposes. Teaching English as a means of communication is not a new idea in Japan at all.

The Recent Past

Why have the communicative aspects of speaking and listening been less emphasized in Japanese English classes? Instead of developing into more meaningful and communicative practice, why were only the mechanical parts of drills and grammar translation retained for classroom activities? Exploring reasons, I've derived insights from two viewpoints: inside the classroom and outside the classroom.

Inside the classroom

One reason for the pervasiveness of me-

chanical drills is the impression the outcome makes; that is, well controlled, rigorous oral practice by teachers with quick, loud, choral response by students gives general observers a positive impression of a lesson. A second reason is the theory that learning is attained through habit formation after repeated rote memorization. Unfortunately, students' fatigue and boredom are not taken into consideration. Thirdly, grammar translation and mechanical drills create the least difficulty for teachers with large classes.

Outside the classroom

In the recent past, English language use outside the classroom was quite rare for the vast majority of students. English was nothing but a school subject. Richards (1985) describes Japan as one of many EFL countries where English is an important school subject necessary for passing an entrance examination. This is probably the biggest reason why teaching English as a means of communication has been less emphasized in Japan: The communication strategies of listening and speaking are far less needed than writing and reading skills, which are necessary to answer the test questions.

However, as Richards (1985) notes, the role of English in a country where English is not an official language may still be significant. Today, the function of English in Japanese society is changing in accordance with Japanese economic growth, and productive, communicative English language skills are needed more than ever. The following statistics show the dramatic changes in Japan's cross-cultural communication with other countries.

1. The number of Japanese citizens who made trips abroad in 1988 was 8,430,000. This was 1,600,000 people more than in 1987 (Nihon Jyoohoo Kyooiku Kenkyuukai, 1990, p. 4).
2. The number of schools taking trips abroad is also increasing. According to a survey by the Japanese Ministry of Education, 208 schools (50,728 students) made a school trip abroad in 1988, while only 134 schools (28,940 students) made a similar trip in 1986 (*Naigai Kyooiku*, 1989, p. 2).
3. International exchanges between schools are also increasing. In 1988, 404 schools had an overseas sister or brother school. This figure was up from 325 schools in 1986 (*Naigai Kyooiku*, 1989, p. 2).
4. The number of students who go overseas to study either long term or short term is also increasing. In 1988, 4,283 high school students went abroad to study for three months or longer. In 1986, only 3,165 students studied abroad for a similar amount of time (*Naigai Kyooiku*, 1989 p. 3).

The Near Future

More and more Japanese people are interested in learning English. They want to gain not only linguistic knowledge but also communicative skills. To meet the demands of society, the Ministry of Education has revised the Course of Study to be implemented in 1994. The new Course of Study for Upper Secondary Schools includes new subjects called Oral Communication A, Oral Communication B, and Oral Communication C, in addition to the subjects English I, English II, Reading, and Writing. The new subjects will help to develop students' communicative competence and also help to encourage positive attitudes toward communicating in English.

Through the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program, which started in 1987 in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Home Affairs, the number of assistant foreign language teachers in Japan has increased steadily and rapidly. In 1987, there were 813 assistant English teachers (AETs) from the United States, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand teaching in Japanese schools. In 1988, there were 1,384 AETs, including teachers from Canada and Ireland. In 1989, the number of assistant foreign language teachers was 1,894 and included, for the first time, assistant French and German teachers.

The JET program has provided opportunities for all participants to become involved in cross-cultural communication and English language use. Students are given the chance to use English in more realistic, communicative situations. AETs must work with the Japanese teachers of English (JTEs), sometimes facing difficulties in cross-cultural issues or communication. JTEs are obliged to review what was being done in the classroom and to consider how to team teach with the AET. Teachers need to be sensitive and flexible as they reevaluate their teaching materials and methodology in order to make language classes more creative and meaningful.

A continued commitment to the JET program will help all participants achieve these cross-cultural and language acquisition goals.

Conclusion

In the last part of this article, I feel it is important to emphasize the excitement of working in the midst of this new trend. I hope this trend will allow teachers to exchange ideas, share experiences, explore ways to make improvements in their teaching, and use constructive criticism from others in order to develop themselves for the benefit of their students. With this in mind, I would like to make some suggestions.

First, we must recognize the importance of making observations about what is happening in the classroom in order to explore other possibilities or variations. This may not sound difficult, but once we start to express what we are doing or did, we may discover that our peers' understanding of the situation is not the same as ours. It is difficult to deepen our understanding about other people's lessons only through hearing about them. We are likely to interpret what we hear based on our previous experiences.

Lortie, quoted in Fanselow (1988), pointed out that teachers often do not have a language to use in discussing their activities, noting "the absence of a common technical vocabulary limits the ability to analyze as well as the acuity of the observation that teachers make" (p. 120). I think it is extremely important to find a common technical language to describe what we observe or do, so that we can share ideas, promote understanding, and explore ways to improve our teaching methods. As a first step, I think we need to describe our teaching or observations specifically, accurately, and clearly.

Second, we need to work to achieve a High Synergy Effect in teaching. This means that the two plus two of our teaching should equal five or more than five. If we stick to the traditional way of teaching, the results of the lesson will be a mathematical sum or less. But if we start to review teaching, searching for communicative methods, paying more attention to interaction between the teacher and the students and among the students themselves, creating situations which lead to real communicative situations, the outcome of learning will be more beneficial for each learner.

Third, we need to share ideas and experiences in order to explore the ways of teaching English as a foreign language in Japan, getting away from the idea that Japanese English education is unique. What kinds of problems are waiting for us? What kinds of changes will happen to students' English proficiency when the emphasis in teaching is shifted to communication skills? How can teachers integrate the four skills in teaching? Can students develop their communicative ability and maintain or enhance their vocabulary and grammar knowledge at the same time? How can teaching materials and texts move beyond mechanical drills to meaningful activities and develop a positive attitude in students? What kinds of configurations and procedures will generate a High Synergy Effect, increasing students' interest and motivation? How and under what conditions can the JTE and the AET team teach successfully, drawing upon and respecting each others specialities to generate a High Synergy Effect? It is very difficult to answer these questions without exploring our methods of teaching and without sharing ideas and experiences with people who have different backgrounds in teaching or learning.

Finally, I believe that these questions can

be answered and these problems can be solved only through great teacher flexibility, dedication, and respect for a variety of perspectives.

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Textual Schemata and English Language Learning

S. Kathleen Kitao

Reading comprehension has traditionally been conceptualized as a skill in which the reader passively takes in what the writer has written. However, over the past several years, researchers and theorists have come to recognize that this so-called passive skill does indeed require active participation. The interaction between the reader's own knowledge and the text results in comprehension. Beginning with such theorists as Goodman (1967) and Smith (1971), there has been a trend toward considering the contributions of the reader in the interpretation of text. This movement includes theorists not only in psycholinguistics, but also in philosophy, psychology, communication, and literary criticism. *Schema theory* is a theory developed to help explain how readers make use of their own knowledge in interaction with the text to arrive at comprehension.

In this paper, I will look at the process of reading, at schema theory in general, and at textual schemata in particular. I will discuss the effect that textual schemata have on reading, specifically the reading of nonnative English speakers. I will conclude with suggestions for the second or foreign language classroom.

Reading: Two Conceptualizations

Traditional conceptualizations of reading depict it as a unidirectional, passive process. Models such as those proposed by Gough (1972) and LaBerge and Samuels (1974) are typical of this viewpoint. According to these models, reading is an additive process in which the reader puts symbols together into morphological clusters, morphological clusters into words, words into phrases, phrases into sentences, and sentences into overall meaning. This conceptualization treats reading as a *bottom-up process*, because the reader begins with the lowest level, symbols, and works up to higher levels. These models reflect traditional attitudes toward reading.

However, studies of the reading process have produced results that cannot be explained in terms of a unidirectional model. These studies (see Reicher, 1969; Kolers, 1970; Weber, 1970; Meyer & Schvaneveldt, 1971; Bransford & Johnson, 1973; Schank, 1973; Nash-Weber, 1975; Stevens & Rumelhart, 1975; Rumelhart, 1982, for studies; see Rumelhart, 1982; Kitao, 1989, for detailed discussions of these studies) indicate that recognition of words influences recognition of the symbols that make them up and is influenced by a knowledge of the syntactic and semantic context.

All of these studies show that lower-level processes—the identification of words and letters—are influenced by intermediate and higher-level processes—sentence comprehension and knowledge about the context. A conceptualization of reading must take into account these indications that there is an interaction between higher and lower levels. As Thomas (1980) stated, "What readers gain from a text, then, is only part of comprehension. Readers also integrate this information with the existing knowledge in their heads" (p. 34).

Interactive processing in reading

Goodman (1967, 1970) helped stimulate interest in reading as an interaction among levels of processing rather than a bottom-up process. Goodman proposed a view of reading as a process in which the reader makes use of higher-level knowledge in order to compre-

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hend lower-level structures. He characterized reading as a "psycholinguistic guessing game" in which the reader makes predictions and then samples input to confirm or disconfirm the predictions and to serve as a basis for further predictions. Goodman believed that what happens "behind the eye" is as important as the text itself. Goodman focused on how the reader used syntactic and semantic knowledge in the process of reading. More recently, researchers have expanded this focus to include ways that both background knowledge and knowledge of discourse and rhetorical patterns are used in comprehension.

Smith (1982) has also supported this interactional conceptualization of reading. He emphasized the role of what he referred to as *nonvisual information*—information that is not on the printed page, including background knowledge and rhetorical knowledge. Smith believed that the role of nonvisual information was to reduce alternatives in reading in order to allow the reader to make more accurate predictions about the text. Since reading is a process of predicting, sampling, and revising, then the better use readers make of nonvisual information, the more accurate their predictions will be, and the more accurate their predictions are, the more efficient the readers will be.

Schema Theory

Schemata are defined as highly organized, generic knowledge structures with *slots* or *placeholders* for each component (Anderson, Reynolds, Schallert, & Goetz, 1977; den Uyl & van Oostendorp, 1980). Two broad types of schemata are *content schemata* and *textual schemata*. Content schemata contain general or specific information on a given topic. Textual schemata, with which this paper is concerned, contain information about standard rhetorical patterns into which texts are organized. In addition to information about constraints on what can fill a slot, schemata include default values for each slot. Therefore, if no information is available to fill a slot, the reader fills the slot with a value that he/she knows to be typical in that slot. Schemata are hierarchically organized from the most important to the least important information (Anderson, 1978).

Knowledge of textual schemata helps readers make more accurate predictions and therefore read more efficiently. In addition to making more accurate predictions, knowing about rhetorical patterns allows readers to concentrate on content once the pattern is recognized and also helps readers distinguish the relative importance of pieces of information.

Rhetorical patterns

Textual schemata might be compared to a general outline of the type of information that would be expected in a given type of textual organization. For example, in a simple personal opinion text, the title of the outline would be the statement of the opinion itself. The Roman numerals would represent individual reasons that support the opinion, and capital letters, Arabic numerals, etc. would represent elaborations on the reasons. The outline might look like the one in Figure 1, below:

FIGURE 1
Outline of Personal Opinion Text

Opinion
I. Reason #1
  A. explanation, elaboration, details, etc.
  B. explanation, elaboration, details, etc.
II. Reason #2
  A. explanation, elaboration, details, etc.
  B. explanation, elaboration, details, etc.

Of course, a variety of rhetorical patterns may be nested within one text. For example, in a text with a problem/solution organization, the writer may compare and contrast two or more of the solutions, or express an opinion on which solution is best.

There are many types of expository rhetorical organization. Below is a list of 12 major types. These can be found in both paragraphs and longer texts.

1. Description: describes physical appearance or characteristics of something.

2. Narrative: tells a story.
3. Directions: gives instructions on how to do something.
4. Personal opinion: states an opinion and reasons to support it.
5. Illustration: makes a generalization and supports it either with an anecdote or with facts, data, etc.
6. Classification: divides people, places, ideas, etc. into categories.
7. Analysis: divides one large thing up into smaller parts.
8. Causation: introduces a cause and discusses effects, or introduces an effect and discusses causes.
9. Comparison: discusses similarities and differences between two objects, ideas, people, etc.
10. Problem/solution: presents a problem and discusses one or more solutions.
11. Allegory: explains truths about human conduct or actions through symbols.
12. Collection of descriptions: shows how ideas or events are related, or forms a group on the basis of some commonality.

Meyer and Rice (1982) proposed a model of how readers use text structure. Skilled readers approach a text with knowledge of the conventional organization of texts. They note cues in the title and introduction that indicate the pattern that the writer plans to use. They also search for an organizational framework that fits the text that they are reading; that is, they watch for patterns that tie the propositions in the text together. They also watch for typical vocabulary related to a specific pattern. When they identify the rhetorical pattern, they interpret new information from the text in light of both the organization they are expecting and their knowledge of the content area. In a long text, skilled readers are able to make use of the hierarchical nature of textual schemata to encode the most important information from the text. Thus, textual schemata allow readers both to make predictions about the content of the text and to make decisions about the most important propositions in the text.

For example, according to Meyer and Rice's model, if a skilled reader is reading a text about the problem of college entrance examinations in Japan and some potential solutions, he/she uses the title or introductory sentences or paragraphs to try to identify the overall pattern of the text. A title like "Examination Hell: The Problem and Some Solutions" would clearly identify a problem/solution pattern. Also, writers often indirectly identify the pattern that they will be using with expressions like, "In this article, I will discuss the problem of college entrance examinations and propose three solutions." If the pattern is not easily identifiable from cues in the title or introduction, the reader notes vocabulary related to a particular pattern. In this case, words such as "propose," "suggest," and "should" may help identify the pattern. Finally, if the reader finds a statement of a problem followed by a statement of a solution, he/she will recognize that these fit together in a problem/solution pattern. This pattern helps the reader know what to expect and how pieces of information are tied together. Because of the hierarchical nature of textual schemata, the pattern also helps the reader know which pieces of information are most important—for example, the statement of a solution would be more important than further explanation of that solution.

In addition to knowledge about rhetorical patterns, readers of English expect a text to have three parts--an introduction, a discussion, and a conclusion. The introduction makes a statement about a topic and informs the reader of what aspect(s) of the topic the writer plans to deal with. The discussion expands on the introductory statement and gives examples, compares two ideas, states reasons for opinions, etc. The conclusion completes the discussion by summarizing, restating the main idea, or drawing a conclusion. As public speaking students are taught, first you tell the audience what you are going to tell them, then you tell them, then you tell them what you told them.

Paragraphs are expected to have a similar pattern, though when they are part of actual

texts, they often omit the conclusion. Paragraphs are also expected to have an explicit or implied topic sentence—a sentence, often in the introduction, that states the main topic of the paragraph.

Another type of textual schema is a story grammar or story schema. Story grammars are representations of a narrative. Though story grammars are the most extensively studied type of schema, I do not intend to deal with them specifically in this paper. For a discussion of story grammars and second language learners, see Carrell (1984b).

Cohesive ties

Another aspect of rhetorical organization is related to cohesive ties within a text. Halliday and Hassan (1976) categorized and described types of cohesion in English. They divided cohesive ties into two types, *lexical ties* and *grammatical ties*. Lexical ties were further divided into collocation (words that tend to occur together) and reiteration (repetition, either of the same word or of a synonym, superordinate word, or general noun). Grammatical ties were divided into four categories:

1. reference: personal, demonstrative, and comparative pronouns;
2. substitution: replacing nouns (e.g., with "one[s]"), verbs (e.g., with "do"), and clauses (e.g., with "so");
3. ellipsis: leaving out nouns, verbs, etc.;
4. conjunctions: transitions which indicate relationships within and between sentences or parts of the text.

The fourth category, conjunctions, (which I will call *transitions*) is particularly important in assisting readers' comprehension. Williams (1983) characterized transitions as signposts on a road: They tell the reader whether the road will, for example, be going straight (additional information) or changing direction (reversed information), whether what is coming is the consequence of what has come before (consequences), and when the road is about to come to an end (conclusion). As mentioned before, reading is a process of sampling and prediction. Understanding transitions helps make the predictions more accurate and therefore helps make reading more efficient.

A list of transitions and examples follows:

1. additional information: adds to previous information; e.g., "and," "furthermore," "moreover," "in addition," "also";
2. restatement: indicates that what follows is a rewording of what has appeared previously; e.g., "in other words," "that is";
3. expected information: introduces something that the reader is likely to already know, or that the reader would expect from previous information or from general knowledge; e.g., "of course," "naturally," "surely," "obviously";
4. unexpected information: introduces something that the reader would not be expected to know or which is surprising, based on previous information; e.g., "amazingly," "surprisingly";
5. intensified information: introduces information that is stronger than what came before; e.g., "in fact," "as a matter of fact";
6. examples: introduces examples; e.g., "for example," "for instance," "to illustrate," "such as," "including";
7. consequences: introduces results; e.g., "therefore," "as a result," "consequently";
8. reversed information: introduces information that is the opposite of or in contrast to what came before; e.g., "even though," "however," "although," "nevertheless";
9. order: introduces either sequence or items on a list; e.g., "first," "second," "next";
10. conclusion: introduces a summary, conclusion, or restatement which appears at the end of a text, section of text, or paragraph; e.g., "in short," "therefore," "in conclusion," "in summary."

Williams (1983) asserted that the efficient reader first recognizes that a given word or phrase is a transition and then identifies the function of the transition, deciding what sort of relationship it is signaling.

Textual Schema and Second/Foreign Language Readers

Various studies have been done on second/foreign language learners and their use of textual schemata. In this section, I will review some of these studies. Carrell (1984a) studied the use of textual schemata by students of various language groups. She used four rhetorical patterns: collection of descriptions, causation, problem/solutions, and comparison. She found that second language readers in general had more difficulty with texts organized in the collection of descriptions pattern than those in the causation, problem/solutions, or comparison patterns. When the students were divided into different language groups, she found that the results were the same for native Spanish speakers, but different for Arabic speakers and speakers of Oriental languages (mainly Korean and some Chinese). Arabic speakers found comparison easiest, problem/solution and collection of descriptions second easiest, and causation most difficult. Speakers of Oriental languages found causation and problem/solution patterns significantly easier than comparison and collection of descriptions.

In a later study, Carrell (1985) taught students in an experimental group about the four types of rhetorical organization and had them practice using the patterns in reading. She found that the reading comprehension of the experimental group students improved significantly more than the students in the control group and that this effect still persisted when students were tested again three weeks later.

Kern (1989) did a study in which native English speakers who were intermediate students of French were taught various strategies for reading, including activities to increase awareness of cohesive relationships and discourse patterns. He found that students in the experimental group showed significantly more improvement than those in the control group. Since Kern taught students a number of strategies, some of which were not directly related to rhetorical organization (e.g., determining word meaning from context), it is difficult to tell exactly how much effect strategies related to textual schemata had on the students' improvement in reading. However, this study does lend support to the idea that teaching students about rhetorical organization and transitions and having them practice making use of the information improves their foreign language reading comprehension.

One result of Kern's study was that students with lower reading proficiency benefited most from the instruction in reading strategies. Kern's conclusion from these results was that students with higher proficiency were already transferring many of these strategies from their native language.

Implications for the Japanese Second/Foreign Language Classroom

There is a variety of ways that teachers can apply theory and research on textual schemata to the second/foreign language classroom. In this section, I will discuss various strategies for making students aware of common rhetorical patterns of English. I will also discuss how to make use of these strategies in reading, particularly as they apply to the situation in Japan.

Rhetorical patterns

Information about textual schema can apply to various levels of reading. Rhetorical patterns can be identified in both individual paragraphs and entire texts. The methods of teaching rhetorical patterns can be applied to either paragraphs or texts, depending on the goals of the class and the students' level of proficiency. In my experience, it has been best to introduce the concept of rhetorical patterns using paragraphs or very short passages before going on to longer texts.

Mikulecky (1985) suggested introducing the idea of rhetorical patterns by showing students five drawings, four with definite, recognizable patterns (e.g., concentric squares, wavy lines inside a square, etc.) and one with no pattern at all. After looking at the drawings for one minute, students try to reproduce them. The one with no pattern is, of course, always the most difficult to reproduce. A discussion of the reason for this can be used to introduce

the concept of patterns of organization in texts and show how they are useful.

As mentioned above, results of a study by Carrell (1985) indicated that teaching students about the rhetorical patterns of English improves their reading comprehension. Carrell introduced students to four major expository discourse types (collection of descriptions, comparison, problem/solution, and causation). The importance of recognizing rhetorical patterns was explained to students, and the four rhetorical patterns were described. Methods of recognizing and using the four rhetorical patterns were also discussed. Examples of texts illustrating the different rhetorical patterns were introduced. Students were also encouraged to apply what they learned in the class to their reading outside of the classroom. According to Carrell's study, this training significantly improved students' reading comprehension.

In addition to describing the patterns and showing students examples of them, outlines or other diagrams of paragraphs or essays are often useful in making patterns clear to students (Meyer & Rice, 1982; Carrell, 1989). In my experience, one of the problems that Japanese students have in reading is that they read as if every sentence were equally important. An outline is a useful way of pointing out the relative importance of pieces of information in a paragraph or essay. For example, in Figure 1, page 148, the most important piece of information would be the statement of the opinion, the next most important would be the reasons for the opinion, and the least important would be the explanations of the reasons. Showing students outlines of texts, giving them exercises with some of the lines of the outline left blank, and having students outline texts are all useful in helping students understand the relative importance of information.

Geva (1983) studied the use of flowcharts to facilitate reading comprehension and concluded that they also appear to be useful in making students aware of the relationships among pieces of information in a text. A flowchart diagrams the relationships among ideas presented in the text. Concepts from the texts are written in the flowchart, connected by different types of lines that indicate the relationships among the concepts. These relationships include elaboration, cause and effect, example, and detail. Geva found that using this method increased the reading comprehension of native English speakers, particularly less-skilled readers. It was felt that skilled readers already used a mental version of flowcharting, and so doing flowcharting on paper had less effect on their comprehension. Part of the difficulty of less-skilled readers, on the other hand, may be that they have difficulty making connections among different pieces of information in the text, so the practice of flowcharting would facilitate their comprehension. Though flowcharting has not, to my knowledge, been studied with second language readers, I think that Japanese second/foreign language students would probably benefit from it.

With the recent interest and research in schema theory, there is support for the idea of prereading exercises that activate students' content schemata (Hudson, 1982). In addition to making predictions about the topic based on the title and headings, looking at any illustrations or diagrams, and reading the first paragraph and/or the first lines of each paragraph (Mikulecky, 1985), students can also make predictions about how the text or individual paragraphs are going to be organized. As far as I know, the technique of making predictions about rhetorical organization has not been studied. However, it would probably help Japanese students become more aware of and familiar with Western rhetorical conventions.

In addition to making students aware of common types of rhetorical patterns, teachers can point out the introductions, discussions, and conclusions that typically appear in essays and paragraphs. Students can practice identifying these parts of the text or paragraph with different types of rhetorical organization. In my experience, this also helps students understand the relative importance of information and the role it plays in the text. In addition, if composition is taught along with reading, students can more clearly understand how intro-

ductions, discussions, and conclusions function in meaningful contexts.

Transitions

Helping students understand the use of transitions is also helpful in improving reading comprehension. Though Japanese students may know, for example, what "therefore" means, they may not necessarily be aware that its use indicates that what follows it is the effect of what came before it. An understanding of transitions should help readers read more efficiently because it helps them know what to expect and helps them understand relationships among pieces of information.

Williams (1983) suggested teaching students about transitions by having them read a text and identify the types of transitions that they find. He recommended developing a system of symbols and abbreviations for types of transitions. He also recommended that students begin with texts on which the transitions and their types are marked so that students have an opportunity to see examples of different types and how they function. In the next step, Williams suggested that students identify the type of transition from a text on which transitions are marked, for example, with a dot. Finally, Williams suggested that students identify both the transitions and their types in a text provided by the teacher.

Another useful activity would be to give students texts with blanks for the transitions and ask them to fill in the blanks with appropriate transitions. This activity is helpful in that it gives students a deeper understanding of the functions of transitions. Also, it helps make the students aware of which transitions may be appropriate in which contexts. For example, Japanese students have a tendency to start sentences with the transitions "and," "so," or "but," which is usually not appropriate. In the initial position of a sentence, the reader is more likely to find "in addition" or "also," "therefore," and "however." Depending on the proficiency of the students, the teacher may wish to do this type of exercise first in a multiple-choice format.

Another activity that is useful in helping students understand the function of transitions is to give them texts with the sentences or phrases following transitions left blank and ask students to fill in the blanks. (Obviously, the texts for this activity should be on subjects on which students have background knowledge.) As with the previous type of activity, if the students' proficiency is not high, the teacher may wish to first present the exercise in a multiple-choice format.

Conclusion

There remains much research to be done on the subject of schema theory and second language reading. More research is necessary both in the area of second/foreign language readers' use of textual schemata and on the classroom application of theory.

Much of the previous research on textual schemata and second/foreign language readers has been done in English-speaking countries on groups with mixed native languages. As a result, not much is known about the specific problems of Japanese speakers. Also, since the participants in studies in English-speaking countries are often doing academic work or preparing for it, they usually have high English proficiency compared to the average Japanese student. For language education in Japan, it would be useful to have research results, specific to Japanese learners at lower levels of proficiency, that identify rhetorical patterns and transitions which are difficult for Japanese students and discuss how these patterns and transitions can best be taught.

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Visuals and Imagination

Alan Maley

I write from a grove of casuarina trees facing the Bay of Bengal: the Coromandel Coast. This in itself should conjure up images in the mind. But it is relevant in other ways too, for behind me lies the state of Tamil Nadu where Lionel Billows did much of his most valuable work during the Madras Snowball, and where his legendary pedagogical feats are still fresh in the minds of many older teachers.[1]

The sea too seems an appropriate image with which to begin. With its tidal, cyclical movements, it reminds us of the way in which ideas arise, are forgotten, and rise again in our profession. Yet, though each succeeding wave looks the same, it is always subtly different.

On rereading Billows' *The Techniques of Language Teaching* (1961), one is immediately struck by its modernity and by the freshness of its insights. Much of what has occurred in English language teaching since it was written is foreshadowed in its pages. Billows' ideas, submerged in the structural trough, have resurfaced in the communicative wave.

It is true that, in the area of visuals, much has changed since his book was published. The moving image, and especially video, has become a readily accessible addition to many teachers' repertoires. But many of the developments in the *use* of visuals owe something to Billows' early insights. For example, Billows (1961) wrote: "A good teaching picture should give us the opportunity to make use of what is not visible in the picture at all" (p. 135). From this single insight, a whole series of creative techniques contiques to flow.

Uses of Visuals

Any attempt to classify the uses of visuals in teaching language is bound to be less than perfect. However, I have found the following broad categorization useful when thinking about how to use visuals. The major division is between *readymade* visuals brought to the classroom by the teacher (and, less frequently, by the students) and *student-made* visuals created as part of the learning/interactive process. We can then discern four broad types of use: as decoration, as representation, as contextualization, and as stimulation. I will now look briefly at each of these with regard to both readymade and student-made visuals.

Visuals as Decoration

Readymade

We are all familiar with the practice of displaying tourist posters, publicity materials, pictures of the Royal family, etc., simply to brighten up what may otherwise be a pretty cheerless environment. Perhaps less familiar is the use of reproductions of well-known (or less well-known) artists' work. Where these

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[1] Lionel Billows was a pioneer of overseas English teaching. He worked for the British Council for many years, initially in Turkey, though it is his work in South India for which he will best be remembered. There he was one of the key figures in the Madras Snowball Project, one of the most ambitious and extensive teacher-retraining schemes ever devised. Since his retirement, he has lived in Germany.

Billows' *The Techniques of Language Teaching* (1961) was one of the few seminal teacher-training manuals available in the 1960s and influenced a whole generation of teachers and teacher trainers.

can be accompanied by an appropriate poem or literary extract, their value is further enhanced (Abse & Abse, 1986; Hunter, 1987). Likewise, the regular display of topical newspaper or magazine photographs with their accompanying articles or captions can have a decorative, as well as informative, function.

Student-made

Any student drawings which are produced by an activity should be displayed both for decoration and for motivation. The students themselves should be made responsible for the display. Some students, for instance, may be willing to prepare small photographic displays—of their families, friends, or home countries, or of class exercises and visits—together with appropriate captions.

Two points need to be made about student-made visuals as decoration. First, displays should be regularly updated and changed. There is nothing worse than a set of yellowing, fly-blown pictures. Second, the incidental learning value of such displays should not be underestimated. The captions, headlines, and accompanying texts are often unconsciously absorbed through the students' peripheral attention simply by being there and being looked at often. Of course, this applies equally to ready-made displays.

Visuals as Representation

Readymade

Basically, the representational use of visuals involves presenting the image along with the words which describe it. *La methode audio-visuelle*, a system using filmstrips or colored drawings which is based on the work of Petar Guberina, is a good example, as are picture dictionaries and, in some respects, cuisenaire rods. Many textbook pictures also fall into this category ("this is a _____," followed by a picture).

Personally, I find the representational use of visuals the least satisfactory and also the least productive use of visuals. By prescribing a single visual representation, it restricts and limits the students' personal representations. If we were to ask students themselves to draw a picture of a leaf, the collection of leaves would be varied indeed. We form our *own* images which are very personal to us and which enter into a network of mental associations, visual and verbal, which are fundamental to our language acquisition process.

In any case, the representational use of visuals is limited since the range of objects, actions, or attributes which can adequately and unambiguously be represented is itself limited. Try representing "hygiene," "smell," "decide," or "unfortunate," and you rapidly find yourself in visual trouble. Indeed, one of the problems encountered by the audiovisual method was the difficulty of unambiguously representing a given utterance—or conversely, of imposing one meaning on a visual open to multiple interpretations. I am happy, therefore, to find support for my views in Billows (1961):

> [Students] use the objects and situations shown in a picture, film or other visual representation of reality as if they were the actual objects and situations themselves; whereas even the best and clearest representation remains a representation and requires to be related to—or based on—experienced reality by some effort of the imagination, however slight. (p. 129)

Student-made

Student-made representational visuals are certainly preferable to readymade pictures. If, for example, we ask students to draw a person as he is being described or to complete a map or diagram, there will be differences of interpretation. In a class of 30, there will be 30 different pictures. This is prime material for discussion and interaction. Even more significant for the language acquisition process is the personal involvement of each individual student. A student's drawing of "a house" is one thing; a picture of "my house" is quite another.

A great many highly motivating activities can be based upon students' personal perceptions. For example, students can be asked to draw a person in the class they would like to

know better. When drawing, they should exaggerate the physical feature which interests them most in the other person (mouth, eyes, hair, etc.). The pictures are displayed (without the names of the persons depicted). Students try to identify themselves and others. Groups are formed on the basis of artists and subjects. Finally, these students interview each other.

Visuals as Contextualization

Readymade

There is some overlap between the representational and the contextualizing use of visuals. The focus, however, is different; representation describes a picture, whereas contextualization provides a framework for interpreting the language being used. The most comprehensive form of contextualized visual is film or video, which supplies a near-total context for the language. Others include the strip cartoon and the photo story.

Student-made

Student-made contextualized visuals are again preferable to readymade since they involve tapping the students' own internal representations. Possibilities include asking students to draw sketch maps or plans of the locale of a narrative text, pictures of the main characters based on textual information, advertising pictures and copy for a character in a short story, and so on (see Greenwood, 1988).

Even at the level of single words, rich contextualization can take place. An excellent example is an exercise called "The Prison" (Dufeu, in press). This exercise begins by each student in the class drawing a picture of a prison. The individual contextualizations are then used for a set of highly motivating interactional activities.

An activity which involves visualizing without drawing is to invite students to contextualize their textbook dialogues by adding stage directions and scene descriptions to them. In all these cases, we are using what the students' themselves have visualized, rather than something imposed from without.

Visuals as Stimulation

Visuals as stimulation is, for me, the most imaginative use of visuals and the most productive in terms of language learning payoff, because it taps into the students' store of personalized meanings. No two people interpret what they see in exactly the same way, partly because they relate it to a different set of previous experiences and associations. Their differences in interpretation can be made the very material of interaction.

Readymade

Several possibilities can be exploited for readymade visuals as stimulation.

1. *Providing pictures where the focus of attention is outside the picture.* Students can speculate about what it is people are looking at outside the frame of the picture.
2. *Imaginatively extending an explicit picture.* This can be achieved, for example, by conjecturing about the kinds of people portrayed, their relationships, the events which have led up to this point in time, what will happen later, etc.
3. *Providing ambiguous pictures for speculative discussion.* Ambiguity can be contrived in many different ways—by projecting a slide out of focus, by providing symbolic representations only (Morgan & Rinvolucri, 1983), or by using surrealist-type pictures (Maley, Duff, & Grellet, 1980).
4. *Providing pictures which are incomplete in some way.* Pictures may, for instance, have been cut into two or more pieces which then have to be reassembled by a process of negotiation between groups.
5. *Reassigning functions to pictures.* For example, one of a series of pictures could be chosen to serve as the cover for a particular book title; or one of a number of book titles could be chosen to fit a given picture; or five unconnected portrait pictures could be connected through a brief narrative.

Student-made

There are many ways in which students can

produce visual material for stimulation of language work. I include four ideas only.

1. *Inkblot pictures.* Each student produces a Rorschach-type picture for interpretation by others in the group. See Figure 1, below, for two examples.
2. *Abstract pictures or designs.* Students represent a given word, either concrete or abstract, through the arrangement of identical small objects. A good example is "Coins Speak" (Morgan & Rinvolucri, 1986, p. 58). In this exercise, the authors suggest giving students 15-25 coins and asking them to represent words such as "junta," "misery," and "sadness."
3. *Campaign posters or ads.* Working in groups, students make posters for the classroom that reflect pertinent political or ethical issues. For instance, "Third World Display" (Fried-Booth, 1986, pp. 62-65), encourages students to learn about developing countries by producing a relevant poster and engaging in a discussion.
4. *Video productions.* Students write and produce their own video projects. An interesting approach to this idea is "Filling a Matchbox" (Lavery, Rinvolucri, & Cooper, in press). In this exercise , students are told to fill a matchbox with many small objects. They then videotape each object separately while providing a descriptive English soundtrack.

Images

This article has been about *visuals*, representations we can all look at and interpret. But what of *images*, those mental representations which are only available to the individual who experiences them? As Stevick (1986) has so pertinently pointed out, "memory and availability depend on mental imagery" (p. 1). For each of us, the mental images stirred up by certain words, combinations of words, or other stimuli will be different.

There is a whole world of possibilities to be exploited here. We may present students with a series of recorded sounds and ask them to describe the situation or story it conjures up in their minds (Maley & Duff, 1975, 1979). Alternatively, we may play short pieces of music and collect from the students the words and images which are stimulated. Parts of *Carmina Burana*, the opening movement of Mahler's *Fourth Symphony*, and parts of Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring* are good examples. Or we may ask students to make explicit the images they derive from literary extracts. Poems are particularly suitable. For example:

> A constellation leans its elbow on the hill
> And cool air fans the window sill.
> Starlight, and the house is sighing.
> You away, and your father dying. (A.M.)

If students hear this poem with their eyes closed, what do they "see"? What sort of a

FIGURE 1
Rorschach-Type Inkblots: What do these visuals call to your mind? What do they look like to you?

house is it? Who is speaking? Who is the person who is away and what does she/he look like? What time of year is it? Which constellation do they see? The imaging which students can do is potentially infinite.

Imaging can also be extended to radio or recorded plays, which are in many ways more evocative than the video or film version of the same story. When listening to a radio drama, each of us forms his own images of the characters and actions. Perhaps this helps to explain the continuing popularity of the genre in the face of more sophisticated media.

So, let us not forget or ignore the storehouse of images *inside* our learners' minds as well as the wealth of publicly available visuals to which we have access.

Conclusion

Lionel Billows spoke of a "failure of the imagination" (1961, p. 129). At the time he was writing, the published materials readily available to teachers were incredibly limited and unimaginative. I came to EFL in the year following the publication of *The Techniques of Language Learning*. I can still recall the aridity of the General Service Wall Charts and the fertilizing effect even of something like the witty cartoon sequences by Fougasse. Since then we have come a long way. But why did it take us so long? Why were Billows' ideas so unconscionably long in finding concrete expression? The historians and sociologists of EFL will doubtless offer an answer—one day.

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APPENDIX A
Ten Possible Activities for Four Pictures

On the following page are four pictures. Below are some possible activities to try with them. You will certainly be able to find further activities which will work for you with your class.

1. Write out the first ten words which come into your mind when you see the picture. Compare your list with other students' lists.
2. Imagine that the picture is an advertisement for a product. What is the product? Write a suitable slogan for it. Do this individually, and then compare in groups of three. Decide on the best slogan in your group.
3. Put the picture on the classroom wall. Students write the slogan or snatch of dialogue that best fits the picture. The class votes on the best one.
4. What memories does the picture call up? When? Where? Who? Discuss with a partner.

5. Write a dialogue between the people in the picture (or out of it). Role-play the results.
6. Write ten sentences about the picture using the present continuous tense (He's/it's _____ ing) and ten sentences using the present perfect continuous (He's/it's been _____). Compare notes with a partner.
7. Link the four pictures together into a coherent story.
8. In groups of three, write a haiku or short verse to go with the picture. For example:

All the fingers point.
There is no escape from them.
Accusing us all.

9. Who are the people in, or out of, the picture? How did they get into their present predicament? What will happen next?
10. Here are twelve titles of novels. Which four titles would best fit the four pictures?

The Day of the Triffids
Cry the Beloved Country
Black Mischief
Race against Time
The Razor's Edge
The Long Goodbye
The Time Machine
The Scorpion God
The Ministry of Fear
Getting to Know the General
The Moving Finger Writes...
One Hundred Years of Solitude

APPENDIX B
Four Pictures for Use with the Ten Exercises

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Oral Language Taping and Analysis for Teacher Training

Elizabeth Leone

Very often, the linguistics training which ESL and bilingual education teachers receive in the United States is not part of a long-term graduate degree program, but is merely a few courses in a workshop format or a quick endorsement program. In these situations, the linguist-trainer must quickly present substantive and relevant material to persons with little or no background in linguistics, first and second language learning theory and practice, or cross-cultural communication.[1]

The experiential in-service training approach described in this paper provides elementary and secondary school teachers with basic linguistic, sociolinguistic, and language development concepts, as well as firsthand practice in describing the second language abilities of bilingual students. This approach proposes a nontraditional, albeit more effective, route for training ESL and bilingual education teachers based on an interdisciplinary, holistic perspective. The approach consists of seven steps accompanied by ongoing textbook instruction in introductory linguistics concepts.

Background

Research has shown that teachers' attitudes, both positive and negative, affect students' performance (Bouchard-Ryan, 1973; Bailey & Galvan, 1977; Ford, 1984). Other studies have stressed the need to train educators and the public in the concepts of bilingualism, language variation, and basic descriptions of language in order to improve attitudes and counteract popular prescriptive and ethnocentric notions about language (Sanchez, 1973; Dubois & Valdes, 1980).

As the world population of bilingual speakers with a non-English first language increases, teachers need new tools with which to teach, structure curriculum, assess oral and written language development, and provide positive pluralistic cultural environments for effective learning. Teachers need to have the linguistic background, the first and second language learning background, and the second language teaching methods necessary to guide them and help them in solving daily learning and teaching problems.

In sum, teachers must develop, in just a few courses, both affective and cognitive knowledge and skills for teaching limited English proficient (LEP) students. One approach that can achieve this effectively is an experiential one with an authentic problem-solving focus.

Background Assumptions

This paper holds to the assumptions that, when new concepts are learned successfully by ESL teachers in in-service training, it is because these concepts are: 1) connected to the learner's experiences and helpful for the learner's ongoing daily problem solving; and 2) able to activate critical thinking processes and motivate the ESL teacher to use the new information in solving problems and improving situations. These two elements are based on the teaching philosophy of Paulo Freire (1970) and rely on ethnographic principles and methods proposed by Frake (1972), Hymes (1972), and Wallerstein (1983). These authors state that, in order to understand a community, one

[1] This paper is based on a presentation given at the 18th Annual TESOL Convention held in Houston, Texas, in March, 1984.

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must learn what persons in that community know, from their perspective, in their own words, and within their own reality.

In other words, in preparing the in-service training course, the linguist-trainer's first goal is to connect linguistics to the ESL teacher's classroom language experiences. The trainer's goal is to assist teachers in acquiring a basic approach—an ethnographic and sociolinguistic process—and thus to equip teachers in their daily discovery of both their own and their students' language use.

The above background assumptions are reflected throughout the seven steps of this in-service training approach. The thread that runs throughout the discussion of these seven steps is that the teachers of bilingual students are in need of certain metalinguistic skills for analyzing and describing language. These skills can be acquired most effectively through an approach where teachers experience and analyze the dynamic qualities of language in various real contexts. Teachers learn by doing, not just by studying a text which may not relate to their own teaching needs.

The Seven Steps

Listed below are the seven steps in this teacher training approach. Following each is a descriptive account.

1. *Thinking about and talking about language (metalinguistic skills):* discussing language learning and teaching; understanding language as a dynamic process.
2. *Taping and transcribing natural conversations:* taping and transcribing natural conversation and discussing related methodological problems.
3. *Basic linguistic concepts:* discussing general discourse features, syntax, and sounds, using examples from tapes and transcripts of spontaneous conversations in a variety of settings both in and out of the classroom.
4. *Group demonstration/transcribing:* practicing taping and transcribing in class, using a storytelling task similar to one used on standardized oral language proficiency tests.
5. *Story-retelling projects:* taping and transcribing of storytelling by ESL students.
6. *Analysis and description of stories:* presenting and explaining syntax, discourse, and language variation features of students' stories.
7. *Classroom applications:* discussing concepts of communicative versus academic language, language variation, bilingualism, and second language acquisition concepts such as errors as signs of process; also discussing applications of taping and analysis for formal and informal second language learning.

In addition to these seven steps, the teachers receive ongoing instruction in basic linguistics, using an introductory textbook.

Step One: Thinking and Talking About Language

During the first step of this training method, the teachers in the in-service class are asked to discuss language from their own points of view. Inevitably, many of the planned class topics such as errors and language varieties surface immediately. Although they are told that they need to see language less prescriptively and more descriptively, the teachers are encouraged to share their ideas and feelings about language learning, language problems, and language teaching, giving examples whenever possible. Among the concerns and attitudes typically expressed are:

1. the poor pronunciation of the teachers' students;
2. the low listening, speaking, and/or academic abilities of these or past students;
3. the poor reading, spelling, and writing abilities of these students;
4. the lack of good teaching materials to use with these students;
5. the teachers' perceived needs for their own practice with and improvement in language use, both oral and written;
6. the teachers' own problems with past courses in grammar, English, and other

languages, including, usually, the lack of usefulness of some of these courses for their current teaching;

7. the teachers' problems in identifying and explaining students' language problems, and, consequently, in referring students to resources for help.

Teachers are also encouraged to explain any classroom techniques or experiences they feel have been successful or unsuccessful for learning and/or teaching language.

This initial discussion of language attitudes, experiences, and classroom perspectives sets the stage for an ongoing language discussion. The discussion encourages critical thinking as teachers discover new questions in order to understand old problems. Teachers also find they need to keep track of language evidence from their own observations in order to better answer these questions.

A central ethnographic issue raised in this first step is that what a person knows and can do provides a more productive focus than what a person does not know and cannot do. A validity is given to the teachers' comments and insights about language—as long as the comments can be backed up by examples. This validity is also given to teachers' competence in using language, despite the fact that many times teachers express a lack of confidence about their language use. Teachers learn to see errors in a different light than they have before—as an indicator of what students know, rather than what they don't know.

By the end of the course, teachers are able to view their students from a nonevaluative, ethnographic perspective and appreciate their students' language, errors and all. With this new respect for and validation of their students' language, teachers find they better understand and appreciate their students' second language acquisition process.

Step Two: Taping and Transcribing Natural Conversations

One of the discoveries usually made by teachers in the Step 1 discussions about language is that their knowledge, awareness, and understanding of oral language is limited. They are asked to think about how much more we use speaking than writing, in our first language at least, for daily communication. As the discussion continues, it focuses on the difficulty of analyzing speech which has been transcribed, since most people are unaccustomed to seeing conversations written down. For teachers who have learned English as a second language and live in an area where another language is spoken most of the time, discussion involves the concern of not being as proficient in the oral mode as in the written mode. As the contrasts between oral and written language unfold in relaxed discussion, the need to better understand and observe oral language and the connections between oral and written language become apparent.

Taping natural conversations

To provide hands-on experience in writing down oral language, the teachers are assigned to record and transcribe a spontaneous conversation between near-native or native English speakers. The taped conversation should be about 20 minutes in length, and the transcript should cover at least five minutes of this taped conversation. In the process of preparing the teachers for the tape recording and transcribing, a five-point rationale for the task is presented, and tips for carrying out the task are outlined.

1. *Looking at adult language.* Since the course aims at giving teachers a background in language issues useful for teaching school-aged LEP students, it is important to examine first how language is used by adults and by fluent speakers of English.
2. *Looking at one's own language.* Most of us are not aware of our own language. So the teachers, given little time to tape and transcribe, often choose to record themselves with a friend or family member, thus getting a chance to hear their own voices. This task can be fun and nonthreatening, even though teachers learn about false starts and

many other "imperfections" in their own language. But what they learn is more lasting because it is personally involving.

3. *Having access to context and background information.* Since one of the goals of the course is to have the teachers acquire basic concepts of sociolinguistics and discourse, the teachers need to have contextualized data to illustrate these concepts. Having taped themselves, teachers have access to background information and communicative intentions that might not be available when interpreting data gathered by others.
4. *Learning about language processes.* Teachers also need to acquire concepts about language processes such as creativity and redundancy, language variation and bilingualism, and contextualized and decontextualized language. These concepts are better illustrated in the larger contexts of natural conversations. Thus, theoretical notions can be applied to the teachers' own everyday language use contexts.
5. *Acquiring language description tools.* Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the actual process of taping and transcribing is one that teachers can readily use in the classroom. Learning how to tape and transcribe their students' language and knowing why this is useful are two basic goals of this approach.

Because most teachers have not had the opportunity to record, transcribe, and analyze speech before, they are encouraged to rely on their intuitions as experienced users of language, some as bilinguals, when doing the task. After the taping, with whomever and about whatever they choose to converse, the time needed for transcribing is about one-and-a-half to two hours for a five-minute segment of conversation.

Transcription of natural conversations

Analysis follows transcription and involves describing the conversation and devising a notation system to mark the transcript. This process usually begins during transcription (see Ochs, 1979, on the subject of transcription theory). It is a metalinguistic task, in which hypotheses are made about punctuation and pauses, about the identification of subjects, verbs, "interesting-looking" sentences, clauses, fillers, false starts, and spelling of reduced forms, and about the general characteristics of and problems in transcribing oral language.

The teachers are also given questions to stimulate thinking about the task and are asked to respond to them, modifying and adding to them when necessary. The questions, which deal with all aspects of language, are discussed in class before taping and then are used for the after-taping analysis and subsequent class discussion. In responding, teachers are encouraged to use their everyday "lay person's" knowledge of language. No answers are graded since a major goal of the task is to elicit observations and intuitions about the data. The following are the types of questions, in intentionally less-technical terms, that teachers usually do well with.

1. Is the amount of talk roughly equal for all speakers? Why or why not?
2. Is there some overlap of talk? How do speakers change turns?
3. What characteristics of each speaker do you notice, verbal and nonverbal (e.g., speed, casualness, volume, humor, etc.)?
4. Do speakers seem to have need to clarify meanings? Why or why not?
5. Do topics change? How often? How or why does the topic change?
6. Are there pauses, hesitations, or false starts? When? For what reasons?
7. What is the relationship between speakers? How does this affect the conversation, vocabulary, turn-taking, etc.?
8. Are pause fillers such as "uh" and "you know" used?
9. Do speakers talk about something in the immediate time and place, or about things that are removed in time and place? Or a combination of both?
10. Do speakers include "acts" such as requesting, promising, teasing, and criticiz-

ing that can be identified by others listening to the conversation? What forms do these acts take? How do intonation and paralinguistic features mark these acts?

11. Are some words said so quickly or informally that endings are not heard; are words reduced and syllables sometimes "swallowed"? Is the reverse true—that speakers are being "hypercorrect" (talking unnaturally, like teachers)?
12. Do all speakers use complete sentences all the time? Why or why not?
13. Do you see any other details, such as grammatical structure, worth noting about the speakers' conversation?

Teachers are encouraged to be creative with transcript notations by using colors, different kinds of lines, boxes, and other visuals. For example, they might use green underlining for subjects, red for verbs, brackets for independent clauses, and parentheses for dependent clauses. This notation is part of the analysis and is in addition to a written discussion of the transcript.

Step Three: Basic Linguistic Concepts

In this step, basic linguistic concepts are introduced and discussed. A textbook for the course could be one such as *Introduction to Linguistics* by Fromkin and Rodman (1988), which is noted not only for its humor but also for its many examples from daily language aimed at assisting the teacher in "plugging in" basic concepts.

It should be noted that discourse, sentence, and word-level concepts are more emphasized than phonological concepts. This priority of discourse, syntax, and morphology over phonology reflects the contextualized approach: Larger units of language are presented before smaller units. This is similar to the approach taken by Fromkin and Rodman (1988). After these larger concepts are introduced, some basic patterns in English sentence and word formation processes are presented, with special emphasis on clauses, embedding, and grammatical morphemes (singular/plural, tense, etc.). Finally, examples of illustrative errors from first and second language speakers are examined.

Phonological concepts are not formally introduced, but are discussed throughout the course in response to teachers' questions, especially as they relate to transcription and the concepts of formal and informal speech.

After finishing the taping and transcribing of the free conversation, the teachers bring their transcripts to class and describe discourse, sentence, and word-level features. Fellow teachers ask questions, offer observations, and discuss new insights. Examples from English and the "other" language (Spanish in the United States for many teachers, Japanese in Japan) are used as much as possible to elucidate the processes and multiple features of language.

The linguist-trainer must try to use nontechnical language to make the basic concepts relevant and accessible to the teachers. The initial discussion about language (Step 1), which brings out the teachers' previous notions about language, should be connected to these Step 3 presentations about discourse, syntax, morphology, and phonology.

Many changes take place in the teachers' perceptions of language during this step. For example, the teachers' ideas of what a simple sentence is may slowly become revised as they begin to see various little sentences inside larger sentences, marked at times only by an "ing" or an infinitive. When bringing in examples of natural speech from their classrooms or other settings, the teachers begin to discover and appreciate the complexities of the language used by their students. At the same time, they also realize that oral language from adult native and near-native speakers, when written down, looks very "imperfect."

Questions continually surface, feeding new discoveries: If native or near-native language users do not model "perfect" language (note the false starts, reduced speech, and unfinished sentences, for example), then how do second language learners learn it? If a speaker is in an informal situation and says "gonna" rather than "going to," is it a mistake? If a child has

studied the grammar rules, but still produces a verb without the third person singular "s" morpheme, how can the teacher help correct this? Will the teacher's help make any difference? Is it a competence or a performance error?

Although these questions relate to the classroom, they are based on notions of language and language learning, and they help both the in-service teachers and the linguist-trainer better situate the more abstract concepts. Step 3 is a central part of the process—the presentation of basic linguistic concepts—and never really stops.

Step Four: Retelling Demonstration and Group Transcribing

Now that the in-service teachers have had some hands-on practice with taping and transcribing (Step 2) and have begun to work with discourse, syntax, morphology, and phonology (Step 3), a more complete and careful practice with transcribing can be undertaken as a group in class.

At this point in the course, the teachers are introduced to at least one professionally made test such as the Language Assessment Scales (LAS) test (DeAvila & Duncan, 1988), after which the storytelling task is patterned. Since some teachers may already be familiar with the test, the story-retelling demonstration in Step 4 and retelling projects in Step 5 can be even more relevant to their classroom needs. In fact, workshops which train LAS scorers, which grew out of the authors' training of elementary and secondary school teachers, often include segments such as Steps 4 and 5.

The objective of the Step 4 group retelling demonstration is to replicate the task that teachers will perform alone in Step 5, the story-retelling project. In Step 4, a teacher volunteers to retell a story that the entire class has just heard. This retelling is first recorded and transcribed by all the teachers in class. The transcriptions are then discussed and compared. The goal is to elicit a sample of natural speech so that the text the story reteller has produced, the sentences and words primarily, can be accurately transcribed and described.

The story chosen is usually between 150 and 300 words, making the transcription short and the story easy to remember. A good story has certain characteristics such as a setting, a conflict, a resolution, and specific cohesive devices. These characteristics are usually familiar to persons of all ages (Labov & Waletsky, 1967; Leone & Cisneros,1985). In addition to narrative characteristics, there are also certain linguistic characteristics which may be present. Stories used on standardized tests, for example, include a few irregular (though high-frequency) past tense verbs, some idiomatic colloquial expressions, such as *verb + particle* combinations (e.g., "*get in* the car" versus "*get on* the bus"), some repetition with variation of high-frequency and low-frequency vocabulary items, as well as verbs of different "aspect" (e.g., *simple/completed* past, "she *ate* it" versus *descriptive* past, "there *was* an old man) (DeAvila & Duncan, 1988).

At this point, the in-service teachers can see that discourse aspects of the tape recording will not be examined as much as sentence structures. At the same time, they are also aware that to describe only the sentences will not give a complete picture of a person's communicative abilities.

Once the volunteer has retold the story, the teachers transcribe it, with much rewinding of the tape. They are asked to try to transcribe without comparing transcripts until all have finished. If the story reteller has told the story in a natural way, at normal speed and volume, with the usual false starts and reduced forms, the teachers will have a few disagreements as to what exactly was said and how to write it. These differences in transcripts provide an excellent opportunity for all to see a number of problems inherent in even the most scientific observation process.

Step Five: Story-Retelling Projects

After the story-retelling demonstration (Step 4), the teachers are ready to carry out their own story-retelling projects—to record the students that they have obtained permission to work

with. The students they have arranged to record should be of different ages and proficiency levels so that teachers can compare differences from one student to another.

As the teachers go out to their schools and neighborhoods to record students, they are reminded to take on the role of a language scientist rather than the role of a teacher so that their goals for the tape recording can be clearer. Now that they have done one recording of free conversation and participated in the story-retelling demonstration in class, the teachers are more confident of the task and eagerly look forward to listening carefully to students. It is possible, however, that teachers may already have certain hypotheses about the performance of certain students, so the scientific objectivity of description must be emphasized.

To prepare for the story-retelling task, teachers are urged to get to know their stories well. To make the projects simpler, the linguist-trainer has the teachers choose a story from a file of preselected stories. Teachers record the story on a tape which will be played to each student before the student retells the story. This recorded story will help teachers achieve a uniformity in the stimulus that students hear. By getting to know the syntax and vocabulary well, the teacher can then pay closer attention to the variations used by each student in the retelling and do a type of mental transcription simultaneously with the student's retelling.

Although the student's retelling is recorded by the teacher, there are so many possible forms of each phrase that it is often difficult for the teacher-listener to determine these from the taped version alone. No matter what the expertise of the transcriber, there are certain phonemes that, when juxtaposed, are almost impossible to hear with complete clarity. For example, "she sings softly" (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982, p. 255) has several linked "s" phonemes, making it difficult to determine if the "s" verb morpheme was uttered or not. It sometimes is easier to hear these ambiguities and juxtapositions when uttered than on tape.

The teachers no sooner begin recording than they bring all types of questions to class, ranging from procedures for taping to problems getting the students to warm up and retell the stories. They are offered mechanical advice and told that it is usually best to get to know the students a bit before beginning the tape recording. Often the teachers collect anecdotal evidence which is very interesting, including remarks by the students such as, "I can't say it the way the tape did," "How do you say ____?," and "How should I begin?" All these anecdotal, yet important, contextual details are jotted down by the teachers and saved for Step 6, analysis and description.

The teachers are told that a minimum of 50 to 70 words of text is necessary in order to be able to adequately describe the linguistic performance of the students recorded (DeAvila & Duncan, 1988). Questions about spelling and punctuation persist throughout the transcription process. Many of the sentences in the stories are conjoined by "and," "then," and other cohesive or connective markers, and all of these leave doubts as to where sentences begin and end (Leone & Cisneros, 1985). The discussion of differences between oral and written language continues, with teachers keeping in mind that a good story needs certain devices to hold it together. While all story sentences are interesting, more complex sentences with embedding of various kinds are perhaps more noteworthy and give teachers more challenging analysis practice.

Step Six: Analysis and Description of Stories

In this step, the teachers put together a short paper with sections on methodology, findings, and classroom applications. In the *Methods* section, they organize their remarks under headings such as "Background on Students," "The Task Itself," "The Setting," and "Transcription." In the *Findings* section, they add charts and tables to present the story-retelling data they have collected and to accompany their discussions of the story retellings.

Up to this point in the training course, teachers have had only a few weeks of experience with basic linguistic concepts. However, they are usually eager to attempt in-class analy-

sis of the students' stories with help from each other and the linguist-trainer.

Since there are usually several teachers using the same story, the sentences generated by the students do bear some similarity to each other and to the stimulus story. Before the teachers analyze the stories from the students they taped, they have briefly identified the structures and sentence types of the stimulus story. Usually they have found one or two relative clauses, several sentences with infinitives, many modals, periphrastic modals, compound tenses, and various complex sentences with adverbial and noun clauses. Even though they do not need to draw every step of a formal transformational derivation of every sentence, they are encouraged to work on demonstrating their understanding of the complex sentences. To do this, they must identify syntactic categories (subject, verb, object), show embedded sentences at the deep structure level, and explain in their own words why the sentences are complex.

Other aspects of the analysis of the students' stories include a breakdown of the major lexical (vocabulary) items, showing the lexicon in the stimulus story and the lexicon in the students' stories (Leone & Cisneros, 1985). By examining the vocabulary and syntax used by the students, teachers have a firsthand opportunity to see how language use is creative and varies from speaker to speaker.

Usually, even if they are second language speakers of English, teachers are already aware of the creative use of language, although they may not have seen students' errors in a positive light before. They may begin to realize that errors give us clues about a learner's stage of learning rather than simply telling us what the learner doesn't know or can't do. What appears to be difficult at times, however, is for the teachers to separate their roles as teachers from their roles as objective observers and describers of language. That is, teachers often use the evaluative terms "error" and "mistake" to refer to a variety of phenomena, including the following, all of which must be distinguished from each other:

1. creative variants ("the old *witch*" rather than "the old *hag*"); these are not errors;
2. forms used by adults in the community as part of a regional or social dialect ("he *might should go*" rather than "he *might go*"); these forms may be archaic or may have come about as a result of a variety of universal synchronic and diachronic linguistic processes;
3. second language developmental forms ("he *goed*" rather than "he *went*"); these forms are often similar to first language development forms;
4. performance errors ("When he kissed her she *fell asleep*—I mean *woke up*"); these are due to memory lapses, fatigue, etc.

Although the story-retelling projects do not generally include library research since the project aims at developing language analysis skills, teachers need to rely extensively on class work, concepts, and descriptive tools acquired throughout the course in order to do the projects successfully. Large newsprint pads are one device that has proven very useful for the ongoing collecting and recycling of project data. These large pieces of newsprint are useful as "portable blackboards" for the sentence trees, charts of vocabulary substitutions, and other data that teachers have gathered from the stories. Teachers can bring the large sheets to class and pin them up on the wall so the class can see the examples and comment on them. These sheets can also be revised and included as part of the final draft of the project.

Step Seven: Classroom Applications

The final step of the training program is one that often is relegated to a separate course or workshop, as it takes teachers back to classroom contexts for a wrap-up and application of the basic concepts learned in the previous steps. However, the addition of this step is key. Many teachers may be sincerely concerned about their LEP students and want to get more from the course than just the required license. But often, they have just begun to understand the crucial classroom issues in a new light

when they have to go back to the old textbooks and tests, the old schedule, and the still-uninformed colleagues. The linguist-trainer, therefore, who has guided the teachers in their acquisition of tools for learning and applying linguistic concepts on the job, can provide ongoing support in this step.

One classroom application is the role of context for giving meaning to communication. Using examples from their own conversation data, in which some parts cannot be easily understood out of context, teachers learn to understand the distinction between contextualized basic interpersonal communication skills and decontextualized cognitive academic linguistic proficiency (Cummins, 1979). For example, the academic language of history and mathematics is usually unconnected to the physical context of the classroom, the "here and now." Therefore, academic subjects such as these must be made more down-to-earth, immediate, and concrete to be comprehensible to LEP students.

Questions also come forth about students who have done poorly academically, or who appear to know neither their first nor their second language well, or who are difficult to diagnose for other reasons. Teachers begin to ask "why" questions; some teachers begin to offer responses which aim at explaining these problems in terms of the new concepts learned. For example: "Are many academic problems related to the fact that more contextualized language needs to be used in teaching abstract concepts?" "Is a less-developed first language related to the problems students are experiencing with their second language, both orally and in reading/writing?" "How can regular classroom teachers, in language as well as in other academic areas (social studies, science, etc.), further the development of literacy skills?" "If a teacher helps edit a student's composition, will the student's writing skills eventually improve?"

The questions continue—yet the questions and discussions are more informed than those posed at the beginning of the course. The teachers have had an opportunity to explore language concepts from a concrete, hands-on perspective. Most of them will have acquired both the curiosity and the basic linguistic inquiry and analysis skills that they will use well after the course is over.

Summary

This paper has outlined a seven-step training course designed for teachers who cannot spend a great deal of time in a graduate ESL program yet need linguistic concepts and skills to meet daily ESL classroom needs. The approach presented here incorporates much of the current literature on listening to students' language (Urzua, 1981, 1984), on observation and description of language in context, on recording and transcribing language, and on providing a sensitive learner-centered approach to training teachers in language and content analysis (Freire, 1970; Wallerstein, 1983).

Although teacher education studies point out that there are many factors at play in teaching teachers how to teach, the experiential approach reported on in this paper does attempt to involve knowledge, attitude, and awareness of language—all basic characteristics central to teacher education (Freeman, 1989). Though few have pointed out the parallels between ESL learners and TESL learners, this paper has hopefully demonstrated that the successes experienced in teaching ESL may also help improve our approaches to teaching TESL.

Conclusion

The implicit question most asked at the end of such a paper is "So what?" Well, if teachers of elementary and secondary ESL students in the United States and Japan read this article and say "Yes, I think this kind of training would help," or "Yes, I think I could offer teachers I work with this kind of training," then perhaps the question will be answered. Furthermore, if administrators of ESL programs in the United States and Japan read the article and say "Yes, I believe that a course such as this would benefit my teachers' understanding of language learning," then perhaps the great

demand for trained ESL teachers will be more adequately met.

It is important to note, however, that this type of course is just a beginning in the training and educating of ESL teachers. ESL teachers and linguist-trainers need to be in communication with each other on an ongoing basis so that their newly acquired tools for analyzing and describing language can continue to evolve, so that new questions about language can be discovered and discussed, and finally, so that new ways of applying these tools in the classroom can be invented.

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Who Does What With Errors?

Joyce M. Taniguchi

My own error is something I can discover only by myself, since it is only when I have discovered it that it is discovered, even if the whole world knew of it before.

S. KIERKEGAARD

As teachers advocating the use of the writing process become more and more prevalent in our communicative language teaching classrooms, what is the place of error correction? A review of the writing process as presented by those writing for native speakers (Perl, 1979; Elbow, 1981; Graves, 1983; Flower, 1985; Calkins, 1986; Murray, 1987) indicates that there are discernable and yet recursive steps that writers go through as they develop a piece of writing from conception to first draft to final published product. Advocates of this process go along with relaxing student writers' vigilance over errors during the early stages of the process. Errors are usually ignored, initially, as long as they do not detract from the writer's intended meaning.

These experts give equal time to all aspects of the writing process though, even as they recognize individual differences in emphasis. Errors are usually worked on in the later, clarifying stages, but are as much a writer's responsibility as is the intended message.

ESL advocates of the writing process (Shaughnessy, 1977; Raimes, 1983b; Zamel, 1987) provide a multitude of ideas and techniques that teachers can use to empower their students to become writers in another language. These writers suggest that, although releasing students from fear of making errors is important, ways of dealing with errors must also be incorporated in the writing process.

My observations and work experiences in ESL/EFL settings have made me realize that the writing process is basically similar for all writers. But my observations have also shown me that there are differences in teaching practices, especially regarding errors. The purpose of this paper is to take a look at some of these ESL/EFL teaching practices regarding error correction. From this analysis, we can see the gaps between what theorists say and what teachers actually do. By understanding the gaps, teachers can explore new possibilities.

What the Theorists Say

The writing process

Murray (1987) says that basically all writers go back and forth, as they write, through the following stages: collecting ideas or information necessary for a piece, focusing ideas into a coherent whole, ordering ideas into what the writer wants to say, writing the first draft while realizing other drafts will most likely be necessary, and clarifying in order that others may understand the writer's intentions.

Teachers of writing have different roles during these various stages. At the beginning stages of the writing process, teachers can acquaint students with different techniques that writers use to get ideas. One such technique is free writing. In this technique, students are told not to worry about errors at all. Instructions are given that require students to write—about anything—for a specific period of time. The time given would vary depending upon the age and level of students, but writers are not to lift their pencils from the page during that time. No erasing or use of dictionaries is

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allowed. Students are not to worry about organization or other polishing techniques that usually accompany the act of writing. Rather, students are to let their thoughts have free expression. From the resulting mass of ideas, one workable idea might be discovered that the student writer could develop. Freeing students from worry about errors is one of the goals of the collecting stage.

As suggested by Zamel (1987), teacher-student conferences during the drafting stages give the student feedback early on. Nudging questions can move the student writer to greater involvement in the creative part of the writing process. At the same time, questions that arise about writing which does not make sense to the reader can be worked through. The teacher's role in these conferences is to ask questions, encouraging the writer to consider how to best express what he or she wants to say and to feel responsibility for a piece.

There are basically two kinds of teacher-student conferences: content conferences and editing conferences. Content conferences take place after, or even during, the drafting stages and may last a few minutes or a greater length of time. The purpose of content conferences is to work towards expressing the writer's intended meaning. Editing conferences, on the other hand, take place near the end of the writing process and are used to work on polishing a piece. Mechanics, such as spelling and punctuation, and syntax and organization are the foci of such conferences (see Elbow, 1981; Flower, 1985; Calkins, 1986; Murray, 1987, for discussions of teacher-student conferences).

Peer conferences for both content and editing are also important in the writing process. Often, one writing teacher cannot meet the needs of all student writers at once. Besides, the audience for a piece need not be only the teacher. Student writers can learn what it means to write for an audience by actually having an audience of many readers.

Content peer conferences take place in the drafting stages of the writing process. Here, a student writer reads his or her draft to a classmate or a group of classmates. Reading aloud helps give the writer a way to learn about voice in a piece and may help a student better find his own voice. Peers are asked to comment on what they hear. What did the listener like about a piece? What kinds of questions does a listener have? Is there any part that was difficult to understand? Peers find these places in the piece along with the writer. This kind of examination often leads students to confront errors themselves. The writer then knows better what to add to a piece or cut from it.

Peer editing conferences take place in the polishing stages of the writing process. Here, peers work together on proofreading. What one student might miss as an error, another might see. Peers tend to have less vested interest in a piece and can therefore help the writer see his or her work more objectively (see Elbow, 1981; Raimes, 1983a, 1983b; Calkins, 1986; Murray, 1987; Zamel, 1987, for discussions of peer conferences).

Errors as developmental

Second language acquisition theorists have pointed out that errors are developmental and systematic (Littlewood, 1984; Ellis, 1986; Krashen, 1987). As Raimes (1983b) notes, "Learn to expect errors that occur regularly at certain stages in a student's learning development" (p. 23). By being aware of the developmental nature of student errors, teachers of writing can focus on appropriate errors for particular students.

One way to recognize and address the developmental nature of errors, as Raimes (1983a, 1983b) suggests, is to teach students to self-edit. Mini-lessons (using ten or 15 minutes of class time to explain techniques) can teach students how to edit their own work. One student's piece is shown via an overhead projector. Students are asked, for instance, to write down each subject and verb per sentence. Then they are asked to check subject-verb agreement. In this way, errors which represent the developmental state of a particular group of students are addressed at an appropriate time.

There are also other applications of mini-lessons. Students can be taught to cover all

other lines of the text except the one they are proofreading. Or students can be taught how to use a grammar reference, thesaurus, or English-English dictionary for themselves. Or students can be encouraged to use checklists to monitor their own work. Through these practices, students develop their awareness of errors and their ability to handle them. Further, students learn to take more responsibility for their own writing and errors.

My Observations

In observations in both ESL and EFL settings, I have focused on the handling of errors in student writing. In this section, I would like to look at examples of actual classroom practices in two settings. From these examples, I hope to demonstrate some of the problems that classroom teachers face in error correction.

In the United States

In an ESL writing workshop in a public elementary school in a New York City suburban area for fifth and sixth-graders, I observed one class in which all errors became the responsibility of the teacher. She called herself the editor-in-chief; at the final stage, just prior to publishing a piece, she corrected the students' errors. The student writer then made a clean copy of this corrected draft to be "published."

This technique followed theorists' suggestions for native-speaking writers: Errors were ignored until a later stage in the writing process so as to free writers to work on meaning, to free them from past "bad" writing experiences, and/or to allow them to focus their attention upon their audience.

In this classroom, by peer and teacher conferences mostly concerned with contents, the student writers realized they were writing for meaning in order that others might understand their intentions. These conferences took place in the middle, drafting stages of the writing process. Questions became the format for most conferences that I observed. "What do you mean?" "Did the bad guys have weapons?" "Did they fight fair?" "How did you know which ones were the bad guys?" These kinds of comments were given by peers, other fifth-graders in the ESL writing workshop.

In this setting, grammar was not often the problem blocking meaning. Yet, as I read over student writers' shoulders, I realized many youngsters were writing without any capitalization or punctuation. Paragraphing was rarely considered. Spelling was often problematical. They read their pieces aloud and thus provided by speech these necessary beginnings and stops. But for a reader of one of these pieces, meaning was not always clear.

The editor-in-chief, the teacher, had a lot of errors to correct. The next-to-final draft came back to the writer full of red marks. This teacher had made the decision to promote creativity over correct grammar and mechanics. While student writers benefited initially through the freedom to explore their ideas, problems emerged later as responsibility for writing and errors shifted from the students to the teacher.

In Japan

In a Japanese college classroom in which students had studied English grammar for seven years, the teacher turned to me and asked, "What do I do about their mistakes? Sometimes there are so many mistakes that I can't make heads or tails of what they want to say." These or similar words have been repeated to me many times. Teachers want to free students from worry about errors, but are faced with the reality of drafts that are riddled with errors which interfere with meaning.

I have observed peer content conferences in a variety of classrooms. Usually, the following pattern develops: Student A: "What do you mean by this?" Student B: "Where?" [Student A points.] Student B: "*Ano ne*...," and the discussion continues in Japanese. The problem of how to express the idea in English is not addressed. Both students understand their verbal communication in Japanese, and therefore, the problem about meaning is solved for them.

In student-teacher conferences, I have observed students who ask teachers to supply them with words or phrases, even sentences, rather than searching for appropriate choices

on their own. The teacher might ask, "What do you mean by this portion of your text?" Instead of answering, students often reply with another question: "How do you say *nan to ka* in English?" The students think that if they can supply the correct translation, then that portion of text will no longer be a problem.

All too often, conferences become stuck at the word or phrase level instead of working on overall content meaning. The intended purpose of such conferences, therefore, becomes thwarted.

Possibilities

How can teachers achieve a balance between dealing with errors that interfere with meaning and supporting their students' confidence in writing? How can teachers achieve this balance and at the same time encourage students to take responsibility for their own writing? In this section, I would like to discuss three possibilities, based on the writing theories discussed above, which may be useful to classroom writing teachers.

Conferences

Conferences can not only address meaning and mechanics, but can also encourage students to take responsibility for their own writing. However, the goals and procedures of these conferences need to be clearly outlined for students and understood by them.

In a drafting stage conference, students need to know that they are only to work on overall meaning—not meaning at the translation level, but meaning of the writer's intention. The questions which arise about meaning can then be addressed by the students on their own. After rewriting, students (who are editing by then), need to know how to go about polishing a piece. These problems in mechanics can be subsequently dealt with by students working on their own.

In this way, the goals and processes of content and editing conferences are clearly defined. Questions relating to meaning are worked on before questions about mechanics. This distinction encourages students to take more responsibility for their own writing—in terms of both meaning and mechanics.

Mini-lessons

Though Raimes (1983b) suggests the use of mini-lessons, many teachers do not know when to use them. As with the placement of conferences, the placement of mini-lessons will depend on the goals of the mini-lesson.

Grammar-based mini-lessons, where problems relevant to many are examined through anonymous pieces of students' writing, can be held at any time in the writing process. In this way, errors which represent the developmental stage of the students—subject-verb agreement, for instance, for lower-level learners, or article choice for higher-level learners—can be examined and addressed at appropriate times. When mini-conferences are repeated over time, students can gain awareness of some of their particular difficulties in grammar.

On the other hand, mini-lessons which teach students the mechanical skills of editing—such as using a grammar text or a thesaurus as a reference—can occur during the polishing stages of the process. These skills are most valuable to students after questions of meaning have been answered, when close word and sentence-level mechanical editing is required. Through the application of these skills, the students are encouraged to maintain responsibility for their writing.

Checklists

Providing a checklist of usual errors is a technique that encourages student involvement in and responsibility for writing. Checklists can be given to students in the drafting stages of the writing process. As students are taught the problems covered on the checklist, they are asked to assume responsibility for all the points on the checklist. Not all possible errors should be covered on a checklist. In fact, limiting the number of problems to five to seven at a time seems appropriate for an EFL setting.

Raimes (1983b) suggests making different checklists for different phases of the writing process. For example, I have used the list in

Figure 1, below, even in the drafting stages of the writing process.

FIGURE 1
Drafting Stages Error Checklist

sp:	spelling error
v:	error in verb form or tense
s/v:	error in subject-verb agreement
^:	missing letter or word
¶:	start a new paragraph; or check that there is only one main idea in the paragraph

Concentrating on a selection of errors encourages students to assume responsibility for their own writing and leads, over time, to a degree of mastery for some students. Furthermore, adjusting the checklists according to the level of the students and the stage of the writing process recognizes the developmental nature of errors and leads to greater progress in the students' ability to recognize and self-correct their mistakes.

Conclusion

Observations of writing classrooms show gaps between theory and teaching practices. All too often, emphasis on some parts of the writing process all but eliminates other vital parts. Teachers then feel compelled to take up the red pen, which shifts control of the writing from the student to the teacher. Efforts can be made to relieve students' fear of errors, but students can also be taught how to recognize and deal with their own errors. Finding ways to achieve this balance between fear and confidence, however, is not easy.

There is no panacea for elimination of errors, no quick road to writing success, but possibilities for improvement do exist. Teachers can talk about errors often during the writing process: in content conferences, in mini-lessons, in providing checklists, in editing conferences, and in giving expression to the expectation that authorship means being in charge of a piece of writing from beginning to completion. Peers can act as audience for student writers in both content and editing conferences. They too can help writers confront their errors. Finally, writers can help themselves deal with errors as they make use of the dictionary and thesaurus, as they use checklists, and as they apply what they have learned during mini-lessons.

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Expanding the Intercultural Perspective

William McOmie

In the last two decades, the field of intercultural communication has grown tremendously. Its beginnings as an interdisciplinary academic field have been traced to the late 1960s in the United States (Okabe, 1988) and, as a means of practical training, to the early 1960s and the need to train Peace Corps volunteers and international businessmen. One could also argue that its roots go back even earlier to the war years of 1941-45, when many Americans encountered people from foreign cultures for the first time (Damen, 1987). Several studies of American culture (Mead, 1942; Gorer, 1948) and other cultures (Benedict, 1946; Gorer & Rickman, 1949) were written by anthropologists during those years so as to better understand the sources of behavior (and fighting potential) of Americans and their chief allies and adversaries.

Although the urgent practical needs lessened with the end of the war, they did not fade away. In 1945, America became part of the world; the founding of the United Nations and the beginning of the Cold War ensured that the United States would not return to the isolationism that prevailed before the war. Thus, although the field of intercultural communication began to develop in the 1960s and 1970s, the seeds were sown in the war years and immediately afterwards.

The academic history of intercultural communication takes its impetus from the American penchant to study behavior. As Okabe (1988) notes:

> Americans tend to approach a problem from an academic standpoint and then to establish a new discipline. This particularly holds true of the emergence of intercultural communication as a new field within the framework of speech communication. (p. 6)

Okabe (1988) says further that efforts were made to advance intercultural communication as a respectable member of the social sciences:

> Because of its newness, the field has attracted scholars from diverse disciplines, such as anthropology, linguistics, psychology, sociology, and...communicology. (p. 9)

The new field that emerged was interdisciplinary. Because it fell within the overall framework of the social sciences, intercultural communication adopted the same approach, used the same tools and techniques, and was guided by the same underlying assumptions and premises as these sciences.

Given the above history of intercultural communication, it should not be surprising that it is still predominantly American and based on the American social sciences. Dean Barnlund has noted that 90% of the available material on intercultural communication is Western, and of that, 90% is American (personal communication, July, 1989).

Recently, more research is being done outside Western countries, and much more needs to be done. Studies of intercultural communication have been published in Japan (Ishii, Okabe, & Kume, 1987; Shigehisa, Kitagawa, Inoue, & Fukui, 1987) that will help broaden our understanding of the intercultural communication process. Although many of the concepts and references of non-Western studies will be the same as those used in Western studies, they may be presented and interpreted differently. In addition, new theories may

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arise by virtue of fertilization in a new cultural milieu. In fact, it has been argued that "different cultures...have different paradigms....[And so] science done cross-culturally may have greater validity than that done within a single culture" (Kleinjans, 1972, cited in Damen, 1987, p. 145).

While accepting this argument, it will be my purpose in this article to argue that the social sciences themselves comprise a culture which, together with other cultures, transects national, regional, racial, ethnic, and linguistic cultures. For the purposes of this paper, I will label these latter cultures *traditional*, and the former cultures *horizontal*. This article will be devoted to the exploration of these horizontal cultures. I believe that until the horizontal cultures are fully incorporated into the eclectic body of intercultural communication the discipline will lack a truly intercultural focus.

Defining Culture

Every argument begins with a definition. One definition of culture was formulated by the British anthropologist Edward Tylor (1871), the founder of modern anthropology:

> Culture...taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. (p. 1)

In the sense of Tylor's definition, most people would associate the word "culture" with some national or ethnic group of people, such as American culture, Hispanic culture, Japanese culture, or Ainu culture. In fact, none of these cultures actually exists, except as an abstraction or generalization. They are not real in the sense that individual human beings, the bearers of culture, are real. They are useful insofar as they make us aware of the common assumptive world that culture bearers share with other members of their cultural groups. They are dangerous to the degree that they harden into stereotypes which close minds to the uniqueness of individual human beings.

As I define it, a culture is a way of seeing, a way of perceiving, and a way of behaving on the basis of that perception. In order to perceive the world, we must select certain features and order them, thereby constructing a reality that corresponds to the reality "out there."

The word "culture" comes from the Latin *cultivare*, from which the English "cultivate" is also derived. Cultivation is, of course, always selective. If we think of culture as the selective cultivation of behavior, then we are close to the most crucial thing about it: the fact that certain specific behaviors, out of the whole range of possible behaviors, are cultivated by a certain group of people in a certain environment at a certain time for the purposes of adaptation and group solidarity. Then, once they have seeped into the collective unconscious, these behaviors become the hidden guides to perception, conception, and action. A culture, therefore, is the result of the mass cultivation of a certain way of seeing, thinking, assuming, believing, and behaving in the members of a society.

The Liberation of Culture

As noted above, "American culture" is an abstraction and generalization. In the cultures of smaller groups, as the similarity of factors such as age, education, wealth, social class, and profession increases, the likelihood of perceptual and conceptual similarity also increases. Recently, the word "culture" has been applied to more and more contexts that relate to these kinds of groups. These contexts have no direct association with a single national, regional, or ethnic culture; they may, in fact, cut across traditional boundaries.

For example, the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* (1990), the official publication of the Society for International Education, Training and Research (SIETAR), makes no restriction on the definition of culture in the manuscripts that it considers:

> Acceptable articles may deal with any of the following: national, cross-cultural, racial, social class, sex differences, and even man-

> agement versus union differences, among others. However, it is the responsibility of the authors to show that the groups under consideration actually form a culture. (p. III)

Yet the liberation of culture actually goes back decades. The emergence of an identifiable "counter-culture" in the United States in the 1960s, mostly associated with disaffected middle-class youth, demonstrates the potential for culture to spread horizontally. Of course, it took somewhat different forms in different environments and among different individuals. In 1990, we still speak of an international "youth culture," different in ideology and lifestyle, but still transecting traditional barriers.

In the 1980s, the use of the terms "corporate culture" and "business culture," referring to the shared ways of perceiving, thinking, and acting exhibited in large corporations, came into wide use. Connected with these cultures are "consumer culture" and "automobile culture," driven by the power of advertising and the fostering of the desire for convenience and status. When people become dependent on various machines and abandon other means of transportation in favor of the automobile, a change occurs in thinking, values, and life style—in short, a change occurs in culture.

A recent report on the BBC World Service concerning the help being rendered by Western soldiers to their former enemies in Eastern Europe pointed to the fact that soldiers have common values and that they understand and respect each other all over the world. It seems we can also speak of a worldwide "military culture" which crosses national boundaries.

These are various examples of horizontal cultures that have spread across traditional boundaries. They function as natural bridges across the cultural chasm, linking counterparts in different countries. As a result, they reduce the differences between these same counterparts in terms of traditional culture and make their interaction less cross-cultural.

Scientific Culture

The most important horizontal culture for the purposes of this discussion is scientific culture. Thirty years ago, the British writer C. P. Snow (1959) delineated the two broad cultures of the sciences and the humanities. He saw the former thusly:

> The scientific culture really is a culture, not only in an intellectual but also in an anthropological sense....[I]ts members need not... always completely understand each other; biologists more often than not will have a pretty hazy idea of contemporary physics; but there are common attitudes, common standards and patterns of behaviour, common approaches and assumptions. This goes surprisingly wide and deep. It cuts across other mental patterns, such as those of religion or politics or class. (p. 9)

It also cuts across national, ethnic, and linguistic patterns. In 1990, we can speak of a worldwide scientific culture which, while exhibiting observable differences from region to region, institution to institution, and discipline to discipline, still shares common assumptions, approaches, attitudes, and values which may or may not be dominant in the particular societies to which the scientists belong.

To take Snow's argument one step further, if different *branches* of science use separate approaches, perspectives, language, etc., then they, too, can be seen as separate cultures. This trend has led to a proliferation of university departments and to many valuable and insightful professional studies. However, it also has a dark side. If we continually narrow and limit the perspectives of various disciplines and branches of science, we likewise limit the study and experience of intercultural and interpersonal communication that could be achieved through them.

How does this cultural commonality among social scientists worldwide affect the study of intercultural communication? It could make the study of intercultural communication from a Japanese viewpoint, for example, compared to one from an American viewpoint, less inherently intercultural than it otherwise might seem: Both groups of researchers belong to the same

worldwide, social science-based culture with all its attendant characteristics. While the Japanese study would likely differ from the American one, it would still share many of the same concepts, paradigms, tools, and methods. Hence, it might not offer as truly an intercultural perspective on intercultural communication as we had originally thought.

Expanding the Intercultural Perspective

The study of human nature and behavior, of which communication forms an enormous part, should be as complex and multivaried as possible. Barnlund and Nomura (1985) argue for the participation of a variety of disciplines in the examination of human cultures:

> [S]ome of the integrity of any human act is lost when observed through the lens of a single academic specialty. As sociologists, communicologists, psychiatrists, and anthropologists, we are all "professionally centered" and suffer from a theocentric myopia that can be as disabling as an ethnocentric myopia....[A]ll framings of human experience have their value, but all provide limited access to the human condition. (p. 358)

While unlimited access is probably not possible, we owe it to ourselves to incorporate as many disciplines as possible into the intercultural perspective. We should include as many ways of seeing, knowing, and experiencing the world and as many ways of being, becoming, and doing as we can imagine. Even then, we will probably fall short of full understanding.

One means to counteract the tendency of horizontal cultures to narrow rather than to broaden our perspective is to expand the field of intercultural communication in a vertical direction: upward from the social sciences into the physical sciences and downward into the humanities—literature, art, music, drama, dance, religion, etc. By doing so, the field of intercultural communication would become more truly intercultural, and its concepts and practices would become more accessible, and possibly more attractive, to a broader spectrum of humanity.

Some social scientists, notably Dean Barnlund (1989), have taken the trouble to include in their works the perspectives of the arts, literature, and film. In addition, at least one book devoted to an understanding of the process of cultural shock through fiction has been published (Lewis & Jungman, 1986). But the field as a whole remains imbalanced, mostly situated within the social scientific culture. Objective, social scientific study is certainly a valid and valuable means to increase our understanding and insight into the communication process. But dare we assume it is the *only valid way?*

A truly intercultural approach to the understanding of human behavior and communication would necessarily embrace and endorse other ways of seeing, ways of perceiving and structuring reality, and ways of knowing and understanding besides that of rationalist, rigorous, objective, social scientific inquiry. Should we not recognize that other ways of knowing may be as good, or better, than that of social science, depending on our purposes and the sorts of questions we ask? If intercultural communication as a field of knowledge and inquiry embraces the relativity of cultures, then it must also embrace the relativity of disciplines.

Conceptual Parallelism: Humanities and Social Science

What can the humanities teach us about intercultural communication? Can they convey the concepts of social science? They may deepen our understanding of the same process.

Let us take as an example the concept that the meaning of words is in the communicator, not in the words themselves. This is a crucial concept in intercultural human communication. Condon and Yousef (1988) explain:

> Our point here is simply the familiar semantic one but applied across languages and across cultural lines. What I mean by a word or phrase is not quite the same as what you mean by that; meanings are in people not in language. (p. 188)

The concept seems rather obvious; but it is also something that can, and often is, forgotten in the heat and habit of human communicative behavior. We all subscribe to the conventions in our own culture that arbitrarily give certain meanings to certain words. But what if we didn't? What if we met someone who didn't? Could we still communicate?

Consider the following passage from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*:

> "And only *one* for birthday presents, you know. There's glory for you!"
>
> "I don't know what you mean by 'glory,'" Alice said. Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously. "Of course you don't—till I tell you. I meant 'there's a nice knock-down argument for you!'"
>
> "But 'glory' doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument,'" Alice objected.
>
> "When *I* use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."
>
> "The question is," said Alice, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things."
>
> "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all." (Carroll, 1965, p. 198)

In this dialogue, we see the problem that often exists between representatives of two different cultures with two different symbolic codes. The passage reminds us that meaning is in communicators, not in words. It also warns us that words themselves can become masters of their inventors if the latter forget the arbitrary, symbolic nature of language.

As this example shows, the humanities in general, and literature in particular, has the power to illuminate social scientific ideas in vivid and powerful ways—in ways we might otherwise not have considered. If one wants to learn about human nature, human relationships, and communication, one could read the works of social scientists such as Freud, Jung, Boas, Benedict, or Mead. Or one could read the works of great writers such as Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Shakespeare, Balzac, Goethe, Steinbeck, or Murasaki. Or one could read both—and profit thereby.

The Link Between Physical Science and Social Science

How can the study of intercultural communication benefit from increased interaction with the physical sciences? How can the physical sciences help us better understand the process of human communication? In fact, approaches and conclusions may be broadened.

Many mathematicians and physical scientists have attempted to integrate the physical sciences into the social sciences—or, at least, to demonstrate their similarity and relevance to each other (Wiener, 1969; Lorenz, 1977; Capra, 1980; Sagan, 1980; Bateson, 1985, 1988). In this scientific/technological age, who can seriously doubt the relevance of the hard sciences to society and the importance of understanding how they influence and accelerate social and cultural change?

Psychology provides a good example of how the two branches of science blend into each other. One can study physiological psychology at one end of the spectrum or humanist psychology at the other. Both look at human behavior, but they look from opposite points of view, with different eyepieces. One focuses on a microscopic view of a portion of a person, and the other takes an overall view of the whole person. Both are motivated by a desire to understand something of human behavior, and both succeed (or fail) in their own way.

I would argue that the difference in mental orientation and emphasis that would influence us to choose one approach over the other is very similar to the difference in mentality one finds between people from different national and ethnic cultures. What we want to know and why, how we choose to know it and why, and what we do or do not do with that knowledge are all important reflections of our collective cultural selves and of our individual cultural uniqueness.

But, as in all intercultural communication, the members of one culture can learn from the members of another. For instance, the rigid

methodology of social science necessarily objectifies the human behavior it studies. The uncertainty principle in physics can be applied to this social science methodology to tell us that researchers are caught up with their objects of study in a web of mutual influence and subjective perception. In short, communication between the two cultures of the social and the physical sciences may, in fact, lead to a greater understanding of both methods and results.

Teaching Intercultural Communication

The recent trend to teach culture together with language and intercultural communication together with EFL is very timely. However, we should not overlook the fact that social science is also a culture and thus may blind us to the truth of other cultures and other ways of learning and knowing.

If we ourselves are trained in anthropology or linguistics, let us not insist that our students become anthropologists or linguists like us. Let us allow them to be artists or poets, as well as scientists. Let us encourage them to experience and explore culture in a variety of ways so that they can find the way that is best suited to their own style of learning and understanding. We should entertain the possibility, for instance, that going to a Zen monastery to study and perform *zazen* may teach one as much about intercultural communication as one could learn from reading a textbook or doing social scientific research.

If our goal is the practical one of actually broadening and improving interpersonal and intercultural communication skills, then we have every reason to encourage our students to study and practice in their own ways. There is no reason to believe that social scientists who study human communication are necessarily better practical communicators by virtue of their knowledge than others who do not have that knowledge. Our life experience should tell us that knowing about something is not the same as being able to do it. Indeed, in the latest jargon of social science, competence is distinguished from performance. It follows that we should require our students to experience culture and practice communication as well as study them. If we do not, are we not committing the same sin as teaching English through grammar and translation without requiring our students to practice communication?

None of the above, however, lets the teacher off the hook. On the contrary, the teacher must necessarily be involved in the students' learning process; he cannot abdicate his role, however he defines it. Something always comes out of the interaction between teacher and student, although it may not be what was in the teacher's lesson plan. The role of the teacher may lie less in teaching concepts than in questioning preconceptions, less in teaching dubious generalities than in breaking stereotypes.

Conclusion

In this article, I have attempted to demonstrate the existence of many horizontal cultures besides the traditional anthropological cultures of nation, region, ethnic group, or tribe. First, I argued that social science is one of these horizontal cultures; it is a culture in its own right and, as such, is directly relevant to intercultural communication. Second, I argued that in a relative universe social science is not the only way to increase our understanding of the intercultural communication process. Social science has no monopoly on understanding or proof. As Bateson (1988) said: "Science probes; it does not prove" (p. 31).

In addition, I have tried to arrive at an intercultural definition of culture by which no human way of perceiving and conceiving, constructing and destructing, expanding and restricting the world of our experience is excluded. We need to include all human culture, all national cultures, all cultures of discipline, all scientific cultures, all professional cultures, and all religious cultures. A truly intercultural perspective would not exclude any cultural point of view. We should expect—and demand—no less.

As a field of both inquiry and training, intercultural communication has continually broadened its theoretical and practical perspectives. Yet there is still a need for further

expansion. To borrow an analogy H.L. Mencken used to describe the English language, the field of intercultural communication is a company in which American social scientists own most of the stock. Scientists and nonscientists of all stripes and colors need to become shareholders and make their voices heard. We all need to become active contributors to the eclectic body of intercultural communication, bringing our various viewpoints on and insights into the cultural communication process.

Alexander Pope said, "The proper study of mankind is man"; and Fyodor Tyutchev said, "An uttered thought is a lie." In the first sense, we study ourselves in order to understand ourselves and the universe of which we are a part. But in the second sense, whatever we say about ourselves and, hence, about the universe, is false because language inevitably distorts that which it represents. The only way out of this bind is for each individual human being to both study and experience, to both know *about* something and know it *directly*. The road toward glimpsing some of the truth of human communicative behavior is a narrow path between these two extremes. And the way forward is a delicate balancing act.

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BRIGHT IDEA

Rapid-Fire Questions for Better Communication

Robert Ruud

When we engage in conversation, we often ask and answer a series of questions, all of which are related and cumulative in their meaning. Obviously, questions are a basic unit of one-to-one communication, and asking and answering questions is one of the most fundamental features of conversation. Questions put us under pressure to answer quickly enough and correctly enough to keep a conversation going.

Language learners recognize their need to cope with these pressures. Rapid-Fire Questions is a language-teaching technique comprised of a series of questions which simulates one side of a conversation and which specifically prepares students for the pressures of answering questions in conversation. At the same time, the Rapid-Fire Questions technique tests grammar, vocabulary, and general comprehension in a clear context.

How to Prepare Rapid-Fire Questions

Before you go into class, write out a series of questions about your lesson or other information that students share. These questions should be at approximately the right level for your students. Write at least as many questions as there are students in your class. Write the questions as they might occur in a real conversation. Then record the questions onto an audiotape, saying them as you would to a native speaker. Leave enough silence on the tape after each question for students to respond. (In order to time this pause correctly, you can say the answer silently to yourself.) Make copies of the written questions for students.

In class, establish or review the common knowledge of the lesson. Get students talking about the subject at hand. Then, sometime during their practice, write numbers in a column on the blackboard corresponding to the number of Rapid-Fire Questions you will use.

How to Prepare the Class

Tell the students:

"Now you are going to participate in a conversation on this subject. This tape contains half the conversation. You as a group are responsible for the other half. You will hear a series of questions, the same number of questions as you see in this column on the board. But note that you will not hear numbers on the tape, because, of course, questions are not numbered in conversation. After each question will be a period of silence. This silence is about the same length in time as the answer to the question should be. Please answer the question aloud during this silence on the tape. I won't stop the tape, so note that you will have only as much time as is generally needed to answer the question. It's important not to be speaking while the next question is playing; if you do, the other students won't be able to hear their questions.

"After the first question, there will be a period of silence. After the silence, there will be another question, followed by another silence, etc. Student A will answer the first question only. Then Student B will answer the second, Student C will answer the third, etc." (Indicate some order for question answering:

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around a semi-circle, up and down rows of desks, etc. As I noted above, you should have at least as many questions on the tape as you have students in your class. If you have more, after the last student has answered, Student A can answer the next question, and the order can begin again.)

Then continue your instructions:

"Some answers are acceptable for these questions; some are not. I will mark on the board whether your answer is acceptable or not. If your answer is acceptable, I will place a check (√) beside the number of that question. If your answer is not acceptable, I'll write an 'X.' If I didn't understand clearly, I'll write a question mark (?).

"Note that these questions are usually linked, related, or dependent on one another in some way; so you can't just wait for your question to come and answer it easily unless you have heard and understood the previous questions. You may have to understand the previous question, and maybe even several previous questions, in order to understand your question completely. So listen carefully to the questions and the other students' answers, as these may give you some clues.

"The goal is to get all the questions correct. If we don't get them all correct the first time, we can go back to the lesson and check details, or you can ask me about the questions that were answered incorrectly.

"Ready?"

Rapid-Fire Questions Procedure

The tape rolls. Students do their best to answer. The teacher faces the board, listens carefully, and marks honestly. There may be some confusion among students regarding order. For instance, if students forget their turns, the sequence may be thrown off.

After the first try, talk about the incorrect answers until all major questions have been answered. Some questions, however, are best referred to subsequent attempts at the tape. When students are ready, start again. Have a different student start this time.

Students should get all or nearly all the questions right after three attempts. Students should then be given a transcript of the questions they heard, such as the one shown in Figure 1, below, which is based on the content of this article. Note that the questions are numbered on the paper for reference purposes, but are not numbered on the tape. When they see the questions in writing, students will invariably have a few more questions of their own about the Rapid-Fire Questions.

FIGURE 1
Rapid-Fire Questions

1. Are Rapid-Fire Questions the same as test questions?
2. Do they resemble questions in conversation?
3. How?
4. How are they different from questions in conversation?
5. Are they hard to prepare?
6. How many of them are used at a time?
7. Don't Rapid-Fire Questions put a lot of pressure on students?
8. Is that intentional?
9. What is the effect of that kind of pressure?
10. What problems can a teacher expect in using Rapid-Fire Questions?
11. Why are they good for language learning?
12. Are they available commercially?
13. You mean teachers make them up?
14. What do you think of them?

Summary

Rapid-Fire Questions simulate one side of a conversation through the adherence to basic principles of discourse in English.

Rapid-Fire Questions are based on some common knowledge that students have. This knowledge can come from a lesson they have had, for example, where students described a picture, brainstormed or organized ideas, learned language for and conducted a business meeting, listened to a dialogue or speech, or read a short passage. This knowledge can also come from outside of class, for example, from homework or work in the language lab. The

important thing is that all the students must have some knowledge of the content and language of the lesson.

Rapid-Fire Questions should be fast and complex enough to apply pressure, but slow and simple enough so there is about a 75% success rate in their first use and a 100% success rate, or at least very close to it, by their third use.

Rapid-Fire Questions are easily verifiable. Students need to have access to ultimate verification not only of what the correct answers are, but of what the exact vocabulary and grammatical features of the questions are. In other words, the teacher needs to confirm students' answers by giving them a script of what they heard.

Rapid-Fire Questions are best addressed to students one by one and can be used with a group of any size. There should be as many or more questions in the series as there are students in the class.

Conclusion

This basic Rapid-Fire Questions technique can be varied in many ways. Students can compete. Working in small groups, they can generate their own questions and pose them to other groups. They can review the questions in the language lab.

All the Rapid-Fire Questions which students hear and use in this way can be directly related to their level and the work they are doing in class. However, the Rapid-Fire Questions technique will also provide good preparation for work students need to do outside of class, whether it be comprehending a professor's lecture, negotiating a contract, meeting a stranger on the bus, or fielding questions after giving a technical presentation.

After working with Rapid-Fire Questions, students are ready for real communication.

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Forum:

The Globalization of Higher Education

My first exposure to American educational programs abroad came when my wife and I got out of the jeep on the East Coast of Malaysia in September, 1987. We had stopped in a rural district called Paya Besar, "Big Swamp." Coconut palms hung over a few Quonset huts, huge hibiscus bushes with red-tongued flowers swayed in the breeze, and chickens pecked and scratched in the road. This was our campus, the academy in which we were to prepare our rural students, the sons and daughters of rice farmers, rubber tappers, and fishermen, for entrance into, and success in, the American higher education system.

The educational program we joined, unlike most I have since encountered, was not officially linked with a U.S.-based college or university. Rather, our program was *patterned* after an American community college, but administered by the Malaysian government and staffed, primarily, by Malaysians. The system of education, however, was identical to most other linkage programs or branch campuses (hereafter linkage programs) that I have since seen in Malaysia and Japan: The students studied for two years in their home country and then transferred to American colleges or universities to complete their bachelor's degrees.

Over the course of the next two years, I received a crash course in issues relating to American overseas linkage programs. How much English education should the students receive? How valid is the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL)? What cultural or political issues, relating to both the United States and to the host country, are appropriate topics for discussion, presentation, and composition? What impact does American educational philosophy have on students? How can teachers encourage active participation in students who are accustomed to rote learning? How can students be taught to think for themselves and to take individual responsibility for their work? Should students be failed? Should English class credits transfer to U.S. universities?

These questions can be roughly divided into categories of concern which correspond with the three basic goals of most overseas linkage programs: to provide an American-style university education to students in a host country; to prepare students, culturally and academically, for the rigors of continued study in the U.S.; and to secure valid transfer

credit for matriculating students. These three objectives—education, cultural orientation, and accreditation—define, I believe, universal concerns for the administrators and faculty of American linkage programs abroad.

In order to explore these concerns, especially in the booming educational market of Japan in the early 1990s, *Cross Currents* asked certain administrators from university linkage programs in Japan and Malaysia and professional educators involved in international education to briefly explain their programs or organizations. In the essays which follow, the authors discuss, among other things, the English language preparation of international students, the cultural expectations and misunderstandings of international students, the politics of organizing and administering a U.S.-based program in another country, the potential cultural and educational impact of American programs on the host country, and the achievement and maintenance of accreditation by overseas American linkage programs.

Cross Currents would like to thank the following administrators and professional educators for their contributions to this forum:

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I hope that this forum will encourage an open and healthy discussion of the concerns and issues of American educational programs abroad, and that it will be of benefit to the students currently enrolled in these or similar programs. Ultimately, I hope this forum will facilitate better understanding in current and future American university partnerships with overseas educational entities.

THOMAS CLAYTON, EDITOR

An American Comprehensive Public University Linked with a Japanese Municipality

Jared Dorn
Southern Illinois University
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In the past year, a great deal of attention, both in Japan and in the United States, has been given to the recent phenomenon of American branch campuses in Japan. The media in Japan has scrutinized some branch campuses and has tended to generalize, often negatively, about the movement. In America, educational interests and authorities have taken note of the branch campuses and of the reactions in Japan.

In the summer of 1990, an Institute of International Education Report entitled *Profiting from Education: Japan-United States International Education Ventures in the 1980s* was published in both English and Japanese (reviewed on page 209 of this volume). The authors, Gail S. Chambers and William K. Cummings, attempted to record and analyze the phenomenon of branch campuses in Japan. Their report received critical attention in both countries and may have stimulated more serious study of the branch campuses. Also during 1990, the Council on Postsecondary Accreditation (COPA) showed interest in and concern about the phenomenon, and COPA Vice President Marjorie Peace Lenn visited Japan in an effort to explain American higher education. Dr. Lenn provided a basic framework, categorizing the list of American programs into branch campuses, language programs, and free-standing programs (see Dr. Lenn's article "The Role and Value of Accreditation in American Higher Education: At Home and Abroad," page 213).

The term "branch campus" is used generically in this piece to cover any American program in Japan other than programs which are limited to overseas study for American students. It may be of interest to know something about the development and program of one American branch campus in Japan.

The Initiative Behind SIUC-N

Southern Illinois University at Carbondale in Niigata (SIUC-N) is an international exchange activity related to the recent phenomenon of American branch campuses in Japan. It has been adopted as somewhat of a model for the matching of an American comprehensive public university with a Japanese municipality in the establishment of a branch campus.

College selection is an important life decision for Japanese, as it is for Americans. From several quarters in Japan, advantages of American higher education have been heralded for a number of years, with a resulting increased interest in American colleges and universities. The comparatively difficult academic and social adjustment of Japanese students going directly to undergraduate studies in the United States convinced some that branch campuses in Japan could serve as a bridge or stepping stone to an American bachelor's degree.

A number of American branch campuses have been established in Japan in the past several years to provide students with English language instruction and academic courses in preparation for going to the United States. The majority of these branch campuses offer only English language instruction and represent partnerships between American institutions of higher education—community colleges, private colleges, and private and public universities—and private Japanese business partners.

The SIUC-N branch campus was established in response to an initiative introduced to American higher education by the USA-Japan Committee for Promoting Trade Expansion, which was formed in April, 1986, by ten Japanese Diet members. The American counterpart of the Committee was formed in May, 1986, by 20 U.S. Congress members. Diet

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member Susumu Nikaido and Representative Richard Gephardt directed the initiative, which has often been referred to by their names.

The initiative was launched in spring, 1986, with an open invitation from public and private Japanese officials: American universities were invited to set up branch campus programs in Japan. By the autumn of that year, American university representatives began meeting in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere to explore the feasibility of responding to the invitation. Southern Illinois University at Carbondale (SIUC) became the lead institution for MASUA, the Mid-America State Universities Association (renamed the Association of Big Eight Universities in 1989), in studying and developing a response. Visits by SIUC administrators to Japan in February and September, 1987, and return visits of Japanese officials to the United States in July and December, 1987, resulted in the signing of the initial agreement between SIUC (and MASUA) and Nakajo Town, Niigata, Japan, in December, 1987.

From the outset, SIUC saw exciting potential in the initiative. For much of the previous decade, SIUC had explored opportunities for expanding contact opportunities in Japan for its faculty and students. This policy was based largely on the assumption that Japan would continue to grow in importance, both globally and in its relations with the United States. For several decades, SIUC had maintained a sizeable Japanese student enrollment in its undergraduate and graduate programs and had developed several exchange opportunities for faculty and students at Japanese institutions. The Japanese language and cultural course offerings at SIUC also had been expanded.

The establishment of a branch campus offered a significantly greater expansion of opportunities, however, than any previous activity. In developing a response to the new initiative, SIUC placed priority on long-range and rather intangible and nonspecific benefits. The 25-year understanding which resulted from responding to the initiative assumed on SIUC's part that the quantity and quality of connections by faculty and students would be of tremendous value individually and university-wide, and would also provide academic, cultural, and social benefits.

SIUC-N Program Description

The SIUC-N academic program has two parts: not-for-credit intensive English language instruction, and for-credit courses amounting to the freshman and sophomore years of an SIUC bachelor's degree program (referred to here as general education). Both parts are tied closely to the home campus in terms of personnel, content, and standards.

Students who are admitted to SIUC must attain English proficiency before beginning the credit courses. Students with a TOEFL score of 523 may enroll directly in general education full-time, and a small number of students has been admitted in this way in 1989 and 1990. In 1988, no general education courses were offered; students who achieved English proficiency in less than twelve months were transferred early to the home campus. In May, 1989, the first year of general education was added, and in May, 1990, the second year of general education was added to complete the program offerings. Also, as planned from the outset, in August, 1990, a Japanese language and culture program was begun for students from the home campus.

Currently, SIUC-N has an enrollment of 630 full-time students, including 30 American students in the Japanese language and culture program and 600 Japanese students almost evenly divided between intensive English and general education studies. The first large group of Japanese students is expected to complete the two-year general education program and move to the home campus or to another American university in May, 1991. At this point, more than 80% of the SIUC-N Japanese students have indicated an interest in moving to the home campus. In the case of SIUC, the move is not really a transfer, since the SIUC transcripts begin with the students' first general education courses in Nakajo.

Admission to SIUC-N is achieved by passing an entrance examination composed of

English language and Japanese essay sections and having a high school grade point average of 3.00 on a 5.00 scale. Admission functions are entirely controlled by SIUC, as are all academic affairs. An SIUC admission officer is a member of the SIUC-N administration in Nakajo. A direct computer link to the home campus allows the SIUC-N admission officer and other administrators to perform their functions as if they were located in Carbondale.

The intensive English language component began in May, 1988, and is based on the program offered at the home campus in the Center for English as Second Language (CESL), administered by the Linguistics Department in the College of Liberal Arts. In this component, students have 20 hours of classroom instruction per week (reading, writing, grammar, speaking, and listening) plus language and computer laboratories. Instruction is given in eight levels during five nine-week terms each twelve months. Institutional TOEFL scores determine level placement upon entrance.

The intensive English faculty members are appointed by CESL on yearly contracts at the home campus. They hold at least an M.A. in Teaching English as a Second Language and have had a minimum of three years experience. Approximately one-third have had previous experience at the home campus as faculty members or graduate students. The chief administrator of the intensive English program is a tenured faculty member with more than 20 years of experience at the home campus.

Faculty in the general education courses are primarily tenured members of departments at the home campus who rotate to Nakajo for a semester. The SIUC-N calendar coincides exactly with that of the home campus to facilitate faculty, staff, and student movement. A few general education faculty members have remained in Nakajo for two or more semesters in a row, and an agreement with the Association of Big Eight Universities provides for faculty backup in case a home campus department is unable to spare a faculty member according to schedule; this has happened twice in the two years of general education offerings.

The general education courses in Nakajo are carefully monitored by Carbondale departments, and textbooks and syllabi are determined there. To an extent impossible at the home campus, out-of-class support is provided at the same time that standards are maintained. Academic advisors, volunteer tutoring, and a shelter course for students first moving into general education assist students as they move into academic credit. The shelter course provides students with an intensive English instructor who regularly attends a general education course and conducts an additional course based on it. This has proved to be a positive influence on first term general education students. It should be noted that the record of general education students to date has been outstanding; the home campus faculty anticipate success for the students in America next year.

General education course offerings in Nakajo are determined, to an extent, by the vocational interests of students. Originally, SIUC was advised that a majority of Japanese students would seek business majors, and the first curriculum plan was designed with that prejudice. However, actual interests of the students at SIUC-N are not in the area of business for the most part; the majority express goals related to liberal arts, sciences, education, communications, and fine arts. The curriculum plan has been modified accordingly. Also, advisors erred early in anticipating a majority of female students; in fact, there are two males for each female at SIUC-N.

Alongside the academic program, SIUC-N is developing a student affairs program patterned after the home campus but providing for local needs. Student affairs staff members are all SIUC employees hired for SIUC-N. They include a trained psychologist who serves as Dean of Students, one advisor each for intensive English students and general education students, a student activities coordinator, and a dormitory director. The Dean and two advisors are bilingual Japanese, and the coordinator and dormitory director are Americans with some knowledge of the Japanese language and culture. The Dean holds a doctorate from a

U.S. university, and the other four hold appropriate master's degrees. Communication and intercultural problems with some intensive English students, especially in the campus' initial year, led to the appointment of several bilingual staff members instead of the American appointments that had been anticipated.

SIUC-N and Nakajo Town

Media representatives and visitors to SIUC-N routinely ask why SIUC decided on the small rural town of Nakajo (population 35,000) for a branch campus location. Besides offering a beautiful natural setting which seemed well suited for a residential college—about ten kilometers from the Sea of Japan and at the edge of a mountain range—Nakajo Town surpassed other potential partners in terms of its understanding and commitment to goals that coincided with SIUC's interests.

The Nakajo Town leadership valued the importance of maintaining American standards and style in the branch campus. It also understood the magnitude of such an endeavor and had organized the required resources and assembled enthusiastic support from the citizenry of the area. Moreover, the town's leadership expressed a vision for internationalization of its locale in a broad perspective, and sought to extend the bond with SIUC beyond the school itself. Shortly after conclusion of the agreement between Nakajo and SIUC for a branch campus, Nakajo Town and the City of Carbondale, home of SIUC, signed a sister-city agreement which has resulted in exchanges of school children, art, and citizens groups.

The town, furthermore, encouraged the establishment of relations between civic organizations, and already the respective Rotary Clubs have signed sister-club agreements and have exchanged several delegations. In the second year of the branch campus operation, the Prefecture of Niigata and the State of Illinois established a joint Council for Educational and Economic Development with the assistance of Nakajo Town, SIUC, and SIUC-N. The branch campus in Nakajo Town continues to serve as a catalyst for international activities with an emphasis on the United States, and specifically on the State of Illinois.

Beyond the university-level intensive English and academic credit courses of SIUC-N, the branch campus has enhanced the cultural level of its environment and furthered international understanding in many ways. Several hundred local citizens, including junior and senior high school students, business leaders, town assemblymen, and housewives have regularly enrolled in SIUC-N not-for-credit English language courses in the evenings. Neighboring communities have regularly asked SIUC-N to send teachers for the same kind of instruction to specialized or general groups.

SIUC-N faculty are frequently recruited as panel members or guest speakers on a variety of topics throughout Niigata, and some general education faculty have begun collaborating with counterpart faculty at Niigata University and other higher education institutions in the prefecture. Children of SIUC-N faculty and staff have added a new dimension to the local public schools with positive results. Faculty family members engage with Nakajo citizens in many social, recreational, and cultural activities on a group or individual basis, including exchanging language tutoring, playing musical instruments in ensembles, quilting, and participating in a variety of sports and everyday life activities.

The SIUC-N campus has also become a cultural center, and exhibitions of SIUC faculty art, special lectures, and musical performances have been opened to the general public as well as to the campus community.

SIUC-N has been accepted as a valuable asset and a contributing force in Nakajo Town. The relationship has been harmonious, and the town has tended to overlook and forgive the changes and disruptions of traditional patterns of life in Nakajo that come naturally with the addition of almost 100 Americans and over 600 Japanese students from across the country. Enthusiasm for and pride in the campus by the Nakajo citizens seem to increase steadily. This public spirit contributes to a rather solid foundation for future development of the campus.

Standards and Recognition

Some 30 American institutions of higher education are operating programs in Japan already. The rapid development of branch campuses in the past three years, the continued interest in future development of them by both American institutions and Japanese partners, and issues of quality and ethics related to a few of the branch campuses have led to some apprehension in Japan and the United States. The Japanese educational authorities and public have sometimes taken cautious note of developments; American institutions and associations responsible for overseeing American higher education standards have reacted similarly.

Some of the apprehension in Japan is the natural result of a lack of knowledge and understanding of American higher education. Just as the general American public understands little, if anything, about Japanese higher education, the Japanese general public is uninformed about American higher education. Gradually, the situation in Japan will change with the branch campus development; already SIUC-N has detected increased understanding on the part of the Japanese public.

Part of the apprehension, however, is based on what might be described as problems of quality and ethics at some branch campuses. In response to the obvious need to provide accurate information in Japan and to calls from educational authorities in both Japan and the United States, the Association of American Colleges and Universities in Japan (AACUJ) was formed with an organizational meeting in September, 1990. SIUC-N has participated in AACUJ's formation from the beginning.

AACUJ is within the traditional framework of American higher education. Its goals are to encourage quality in the American institutions' programs in Japan, to facilitate the exchange of information, to provide accurate information in Japan and America, and to assist the American accrediting bodies as requested. AACUJ was organized under the encouragement of the Council on Postsecondary Accreditation (COPA), which continues to be interested in its development and work. COPA granted liaison status to AACUJ and hosted a meeting in November, 1990, in Washington, D.C., of chief academic officers from American institutions with branch campuses in Japan, chief academic officers from the branch campuses, representatives of the regional accrediting associations in the United States, and other American educational authorities.

To date, the Ministry of Education in Japan has withheld university-status recognition from the branch campuses, and at least several of the branch campuses, including SIUC-N, have not actively sought such recognition. This latter group of branch campuses has felt that maintenance of a truly American style of higher education precludes conforming to Ministry of Education requirements and that the regional accrediting associations in the United States are the appropriate sources of recognition. SIUC-N and a number of the branch campuses in Japan have been reviewed by the respective associations of their home campuses and have been included in home campus accreditation. SIUC-N was visited by a North Central Association team during the regular ten-year review of SIUC in January, 1989, and is included in its home campus accreditation.

Future Prospects for Branch Campuses

The phenomenon of branch campuses of American universities in Japan has experienced spectacular growth in a few years. Many doubts have been expressed about the ability of even the current number, let alone all of those projected, to survive for many years. Those of quality that meet needs in Japan can be expected to succeed, and they may influence Japanese higher education and contribute to good U.S.-Japan relations and to international understanding. At the least, they will provide an alternative for Japanese young people, especially for the growing number of those finding themselves out of synchronization with the Japanese educational system upon returning with parents from overseas assignments, for others who have expanded their horizons on other overseas adventures, for those who have failed entrance examinations to prestig-

ious Japanese universities but have great potential for achievement in higher education, and for those who are attracted to the study of the English language.

For American universities linked with small municipalities, such as SIUC and Nakajo, branch campuses may provide the catalyst for internationalization with broad and long-range academic, cultural, and social benefits for both partners.

The Internationalization of an American University

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Recently, several government and education commissions in the United States have addressed the role of education in preparing students to be competitive in a rapidly changing world.[1] Their reports lament America's endemic monolingual condition, its failure to view the world as a series of interrelated systems, and its lack of knowledge concerning cultural diversity, values, human rights, and cross-cultural and intercultural perspectives. In short, the reports suggest that the United States, its education system, and its people are "at risk" internationally. The development of "international and foreign language competence for economic competitiveness, national security, and the protection of America's position in the world" (American Council on Education, 1990, p. 1) is urged.

Many of America's universities have assumed leadership positions in the planning and implementation of programs to foster global awareness, cross-cultural competence, and international understanding. For nearly a decade, Arizona State University has planned for this kind-of internationalization.

ASU's Historical Perspective: Long-Term International Scope

Founded more than 100 years ago, Arizona State University has become one of America's most dynamic public institutions of higher education. Beginning in 1885 with 33 students and one faculty member, the university now serves nearly 50,000 students on two campuses and at several educational centers. Such dramatic development has propelled ASU on a mission to become a "world class" university, and internationalization of many university programs has become a significant part of the university's strategic planning process.

While this paper focuses on the development of the American Language and Culture Program (ALCP) Japan, it should be noted that Arizona State University has a long-standing commitment to international education. The Center for Asian Studies, the Center for South-

[1] Such agencies and commissions include the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies, the Council of Chief State School Officers, the American Council on Education, and the American Forum (formerly Global Perspectives in Education, Inc.).

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east Asian Studies, the Center for Latin American Studies, the Russian and East European Studies Consortium, and the Consortium for Atlantic Studies facilitate research and technical assistance projects, provide certificate programs, and promote overseas educational opportunities. Individual faculty and departments participate extensively in international activities. The Office of International Programs and the Office of Summer Sessions offer a full compliment of study abroad, exchange, and summer study options. The International Student Office provides services for the more than 2,215 international students from 116 countries.

The systematic management and development of international activity at the university level began in 1982, with the creation of the Office of International Programs (OIP). Among the activities of the OIP was the formulation of a strategic plan for the expansion of student programs and technical assistance efforts. This task was completed by subcommittees of the International Programs Advisory Committee in 1983, and contributed to the incorporation of a single statement in the university's mission and scope which suggested the internationalization of Arizona State University.

The establishment of ALCP-Japan is one result of the rapid implementation of this internationalization goal. ALCP-Japan's development took place in a context of dynamic political and educational activity within the state of Arizona and the university. Most notable of these efforts were: cooperative efforts by government agencies and business interests to promote economic links between Arizona and the Pacific Rim; the establishment of the Japan-America Society of Phoenix to promote cultural understanding and economic development with Japan; the formation of a sister-city relationship between Phoenix and Himeji, Japan; and the development of a foreign language requirement for all students in Arizona's public educational system. Finally, the receipt of a U.S. Department of Education Title VI Grant by Arizona State University and the Maricopa Community College District created the Central Arizona Consortium on International Education. The purpose of the consortium is to improve international education in Arizona public schools.

Within the university, the General Studies program was revised to include a requirement in Global Awareness. Further, overseas study opportunities in Japan were expanded dramatically. While a formal interinstitutional relationship had been established with Kansai Gaidai University in Osaka in 1978, two additional relationships with Nanzan University in Nagoya and with Hiroshima Shudo University were established. These relationships have fostered the exchange of students and faculty and provided study options in Japan for ASU students with beginning, intermediate, and advanced Japanese language competence. In addition, these exchange programs have been augmented to include intensive English components for Japanese students at ASU.

The notion of opening a facility in Japan was considered after the university had received many requests from Japanese organizations to form a partnership. Upon review, the idea gained support as a vehicle to achieve several university goals: 1) the expansion of educational opportunities for Japanese and American students; 2) the familiarization of faculty with Japan; and 3) the expansion of the American Language and Culture Program. The decision to proceed was based on projected educational gains and the fact that we had received a request from a potential partner who shared a common philosophy about international education.

After consideration, the decision was made to affiliate with a small educational company, International Education Development Center (IEDC), headed by Mr. Tetsuya Kimura. The eventual proposal provided for a small educational center affiliated with Arizona State University to be constructed in Hachioji, a western suburb of Tokyo noted for its educational environment. The facility would be located adjacent to College Town Hachioji, a student-centered, residential/recreational development of Livex Corporation. Through

cooperation of IEDC and Livex, our students would have access to all amenities available in College Town, including dormitory-type rooms and athletic facilities (swimming pool, weight room, racquetball courts, and aerobics room). Thus, ASU believed that a good quality of education and campus life could be provided without significant commitment of our Japanese partner to an extensive building program.

IEDC agreed to open ALCP-Japan in May, 1990, with a program of intensive English services and a placement program designed to facilitate the admission of Japanese students to ASU and other American universities. Further development was discussed, and an agreement was reached to begin offering credit courses on a limited basis beginning in January, 1991, fully abiding by the *Principles of Good Practice in Overseas International Education Programs for Non-U.S. Nationals* (1990) established by the Council on Postsecondary Accreditation.

Description of ALCP-Japan

The curriculum

ALCP-Japan offers an intensive English training program consisting of three 14-week sessions per year. The program follows the same curriculum as the main campus, providing 21 obligatory academic contact hours per week in Core courses and Focused Study courses and emphasizing English for Academic Purposes and cross-cultural awareness. The Core courses are 18 hours of integrated skills classes: nine hours of Speaking and Listening and nine hours of Reading and Writing. Each session, students take one Focused Study course of three hours which provides an opportunity to concentrate in one area—Keyboarding/Word Processing, Conversation, Pronunciation, Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) Preparation, Business English, Discussion and Debate, or Study Skills.

In addition to these 21 obligatory hours, students have the opportunity for additional contact with English through extracurricular activities before and after classes. These activities are organized around various student clubs, such as the Video Club, the Drama and Music Performance Clubs, the Games Club and the Press Club. Students are also urged to spend time in the Computer Lab and to participate in Access, a tutorial program. Students may also listen to the latest CBS Evening News over the lunch hour.

As Japanese students are usually eager to move to the U.S. as soon as possible, ALCP-Japan plans, in most cases, to enroll students for a single year.

The transfer process

Academic advising for placing students in American universities and colleges occurs during extracurricular hours. ALCP-Japan presently has an affiliation with 16 U.S. institutions which will provide conditional admittance to ALCP-Japan students who are academically qualified for their programs, but who have yet to achieve the necessary language proficiency.

If required TOEFL scores have been obtained at the end of the first year at ALCP-Japan, students may begin degree work at the institution to which they have been accepted. If satisfactory TOEFL scores have not been achieved, students may remain at ALCP-Japan for further English language development, progress to their chosen American university to continue English language study, or continue English language study at ASU ALCP in Tempe, Arizona.

In order to prepare students for transfer to the United States, our academic advisor in Japan holds weekly obligatory workshops to explain the U.S. degree system and the types of postsecondary education available in the U.S. In these sessions, admission requirements, application procedures, and specific information on our affiliated institutions are provided to students. After students have completed the application process, the workshops concentrate on cross-cultural issues and survival in an American academic environment.

A program coordinator on the ASU campus finalizes all placement arrangements, main-

tains contact with affiliated universities, and provides cross-cultural training for students upon arrival in the U.S.

The faculty

To ensure complete control of the academic program, the faculty of ALCP-Japan are ASU employees meeting the same criteria as faculty in Arizona. Minimum requirements include a master's degree in Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language, Applied Linguistics, or a closely related field. Faculty are also required to have extensive ESL teaching experience, U.S. citizenship, native English language skills, and experience living or working overseas. These requirements help assure the academic quality and high standards appropriate to American higher education.

Advantages of U.S. Programs in Japan

What advantages does an American program in Japan provide for students who will eventually transfer to the United States? First, students experience the requirements, expectations, and classroom conditions of a U.S. university prior to making an extensive psychological and financial commitment to foreign living and study. Second, students get some exposure to general American culture and customs prior to arrival in the United States. Finally, students have the opportunity to prepare their English language skills in anticipation of university-level work.

In essence, a U.S. university program abroad serves as a trial period for foreign students to prepare themselves, in terms of cultural awareness and language ability, for life and study in the United States.

What are the advantages to U.S. institutions in accepting students from U.S. university programs abroad? Primarily, U.S. universities and colleges should expect better-prepared international students because those students will have survived a rigorous American study program prior to arrival in the U.S. There is also an information advantage. In addition to GPAs and TOEFL scores, students from U.S. university programs abroad can supply recommendations written by American faculty. As the American classroom teacher abroad is well equipped to evaluate foreign student motivation, seriousness, and potential for academic success, these recommendations should be valuable to U.S. university and college admissions offices.

Disadvantages of U.S. Programs in Japan

U.S. programs in Japan do have some drawbacks. An obvious disadvantage is that the students are in an EFL environment, surrounded by Japanese language and culture. In this environment, students' English language skills usually do not increase as rapidly as they might in an ESL environment, where students would be surrounded by English language and American culture.

To compensate, ALCP-Japan offers extensive extracurricular activities to provide more contact with English outside the classroom. Furthermore, communicative competence is emphasized in the curriculum, and oral and participatory skills comprise relatively high percentages of class grades. With these compensatory activities, it is hoped that the disadvantages of an intensive English program in an EFL setting will be minimized.

Japanese Educational Methods and English Language Schools

Japanese students usually study English for six years in middle and secondary schools. Classes, usually taught in Japanese, generally focus on memorization rather than on communicative oral production, active participation, and creative expression of opinion. Consequently, upon high school graduation, Japanese students are usually unable to speak English well, to contribute spontaneously to English discussions, or to take the initiative in English language situations.

To remedy this lack of skill, Japanese high school students and graduates who recognize the value of English communicative ability may attend private English language schools. However, many of these schools do not hire qualified and trained native English speakers

as teachers. Also, the programs are rarely intensive, frequently meeting only a few hours per week. Consequently, these programs are often no more successful in teaching English communicative competence than is the public school system.

The Impact of U.S. Programs on Japanese English Education

The preceding description presents a basis for understanding what changes may come about as a result of the presence of programs like ALCP-Japan and in response to demands of young, internationally minded Japanese.

In the future, private English language schools may begin to require better qualified and trained teachers in order to compete with American university-level programs which employ such experts. As there is a higher cost in employing trained specialists, the cost of attending language schools may increase.

To accommodate student demand for better English language skills, several changes may also occur in Japanese high schools: 1) English language classes may be taught in English; 2) testing may require oral production; 3) teachers may begin to study abroad to improve their own English language skills and to understand other educational methods; 4) classrooms may permit more expression of opinion and encourage analytical and synthetic thought; and 5) the continuing education and professional development of Japanese teachers may be expanded through increased involvement in professional organizations such as the Japan Association of Language Teachers and through closer professional ties with U.S. institutions in Japan.

There may also be further changes in study abroad opportunities for Japanese high school and university students and teachers. Specific counselors and departments may be assigned to concentrate on overseas study in order to advise students properly. Students may receive credit for overseas study which may satisfy graduation requirements and be accepted as part of the curriculum. Finally, schools may develop specific exchange programs, approved by the Ministry of Education, for students and teachers.

Conclusion

Education and government officials in the United States and Japan agree that internationalization is a positive goal. However, the long-term effects of internationalization are not yet clear. Despite the rapid growth of American programs in Japan and the careful deliberation of most of the participants, for example, it is difficult to identify a consistency of intent and purpose. While there may have been initial agreement on the benefits of internationalization, differing perspectives and motives have gradually emerged in the corporate, governmental, and education sectors. Furthermore, we don't yet understand the impact of our programs on the Japanese spirit and society. It may be that we can expect substantial change in many elements of Japanese culture.

While we remain convinced that ALCP-Japan will continue to meet the needs of Japanese students who wish to study overseas, the proliferation of programs without the benefit of standards to regulate quality will prove problematic. It is necessary, therefore, for Japanese students and parents to become more educated consumers of educational services and to carefully consider the impact of internationalization on their lives. We can expect continued change in the educational systems in both the United States and Japan. Programs motivated by educational excellence should prove compatible to the goal of internationalization, the maintenance of the Japanese spirit, and the preparation of both Japanese and American students for a rapidly changing world.

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An American Community College in Japan

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Tokyo American Community College (TACC) is a two-year college in Japan offering American college education in cooperation with the Los Angeles Community College District. The course content and level of all TACC college classes are equal to that of the Los Angeles City College (LACC), the oldest college in the Los Angeles Community College District. Academic credit is awarded through LACC, and the TACC program is covered by LACC's accreditation by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges.

Background of the College

TACC first offered classes in October, 1988, at the Yoyogi site in Shibuya-ku. Currently, we offer a college program and an English Preparatory Program (EPP). The majority of our students are Japanese who plan to continue studying toward a degree in the United States. The purpose of the EPP is to help students improve their English language skills to a level where they can benefit from college classes in English. Additionally, the EPP encourages the development of intercultural and international understanding. After completion of the EPP, students can be enrolled in TACC's college program classes. We believe that students who have completed the EPP and the college program course at TACC will be able to succeed in university or college classes in the U.S.

Los Angeles City College and Los Angeles Community College District

Los Angeles City College is the oldest college in the Los Angeles Community College District. There are nine colleges in the district, and the service area covers a large portion of Los Angeles County. LACC is a comprehensive, two-year community college that offers college transfer, vocational, developmental, and community service programs. TACC's concentration is currently on vocational, transfer, and developmental programs.

The Los Angeles Community College system is supported by California tax money. However, TACC and other similar international programs are all supported by tuition generated from local student enrollment, and no California tax money is used.

Tokyo American Community College and Los Angeles City College

There is a close relationship between TACC and LACC to ensure that the quality of instruction in Tokyo is comparable to that in Los Angeles. Every semester, the chairs from relevant LACC departments visit TACC. There are two purposes in these visits: first, to assure the LACC academic departments that the TACC program is comparable to that of LACC; and second, to provide opportunities for TACC and LACC faculty to interact with each other.

Who are our students?

Any high school graduate, or anyone over 18 years of age, can attend classes at TACC. This population includes Japanese students who are preparing to attend a university or college. At present, Japanese students are enrolled in both the EPP and the college program course. Americans and other foreigners residing in Japan with either their parents or relatives also attend TACC. Presently, non-Japanese students are enrolled only in the college program course. They represent about half of all students in this program.

TACC has a good student-to-teacher ratio. In the EPP and college program classes, there are no more than ten students per class. The increased attention which teachers can give to

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individual learners is of great benefit to our students. At present, there are 39 students enrolled in our vocational program, 30 students enrolled in the EPP, and 19 students enrolled in college program classes.

In our two years of operation, about 170 students have attended, or are currently attending, TACC. Approximately 51% of these students have been enrolled in TACC's vocational program. About 10% of our students have dropped out of TACC either to enroll in a Japanese vocational school or to start working. About 13% of our students are now studying at a variety of colleges and universities in the United States. Half of our students in the United States are studying at one of the nine colleges in the Los Angeles Community College District.

What do we have to offer Japanese students?

Before we can answer this question, let us first look at the educational system in Japan. In Japan, a student's future is more or less determined by whether or not he or she can graduate from a university or college. However, it is very difficult to get into Japanese universities and colleges, and acceptance is largely based on very competitive entrance examinations.

Since the educational process is very competitive, there is little room for students who cannot keep up with their peers; many students fall behind and never catch up. Unfortunately, these students have very few options after they graduate from high school. Their future may be bleak because they cannot get into a university or college.

In order to erase the stigma of failure in school and entrance examinations, students have three choices. One possibility is to enroll in a preparatory school, study harder, get better entrance scores, and enter a university or college. Second, a student could enroll in a *senmon gakkou*, or vocational college; this student might study computer programming or repair, for instance. Third, a student could try to enroll in an American branch college in Japan, like the Tokyo American Community College.

When Japanese students enter TACC, our aim is to help them prepare for the future. We have two types of students. The first may not be interested in a degree, but continues to study because he or she thinks TACC might help in the future in some way: perhaps attending TACC builds the student's confidence or allows the student to prepare emotionally for entrance into the Japanese workplace. The second type of student is extremely motivated and will eventually transfer to a four-year university or college in the United States to study for a bachelor's degree.

We counsel both types of students with two purposes in mind: first, to help them formulate their goals; and second, to help them realize what steps are necessary to achieve these goals.

Hurdles

One of the areas that we are constantly working with, especially in our Japanese student population, is motivation and participation, as there is a large difference between an American university or college environment and the Japanese equivalent. In an American university or college, students are expected to come to class, do homework, and ask questions during class. The expectations for Japanese student participation are considerably less.

To compound matters, many of our EPP students do not initially realize the amount of effort that is needed to learn another language. As we all know, acquiring another language takes time and effort. If TACC is the only place where our students are in an English environment, a missed class or day can seriously impede language learning.

Conclusion

In short, the nature of the Japanese educational system and the differences between the American university or college system and the Japanese system combine to make the situation of an American community college in Japan very interesting and unique. Above all, American college administrators must understand the backgrounds and needs of Japanese students and have patience in helping these students achieve their goals.

An American University English Language Institute in Japan

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Though apparently a well-kept secret and certainly not a leviathan, the University of Pittsburgh English Language Institute (ELI) Japan Program is one of the oldest American-Japanese educational partnerships. It was formed by a 1983 agreement between the University of Pittsburgh and the Tokyo Institute of International Education (TIIE). The home ELI appoints the Director and Assistant Director, who are responsible for the curriculum and all educational aspects, while TIIE (later renamed Co-You Academy) is responsible for financial and logistical management, student recruitment, and community liaison.

The main purpose of the Japan Program is identical to that of the University of Pittsburgh ELI: to prepare students for study at English-medium tertiary institutions. We have enrolled approximately 350 students in the intensive program and perhaps another 120 in the evening programs. Over 65% of the intensive students have gone on to study abroad. Approximately seven to ten students every year go to the home ELI for the term beginning in May, and many of those later apply to the University of Pittsburgh or the local community college. Others go to a wide variety of colleges, from women's junior colleges in the Northeast to large urban universities in the West. A few students every year to go universities and colleges in Canada, and a handful have gone to British schools.

A vocal minority of those who are studying abroad keep in touch with us; they seem to be doing well, making friends and progressing toward their degrees. They tell us they felt prepared when they began their studies. We doubtless hear from the most successful and/or those we were closest to, but their comments are encouraging just the same.

The English Language Institute

The Japan Program offers a 24-hour per week intensive English for Academic Purposes program for Japanese high school graduates. The core courses are Grammar, Reading, Writing, Speaking/Pronunciation and Language Laboratory (Listening). Each course meets for four hours per week, a total of 20 core hours. To that are added two hours per week each of Typing/Word Processing and Academic Preparation (TOEFL Preparation, American Culture, and Academic Counseling). As at the home ELI, courses are noncredit and admission to the ELI does not guarantee admission to the university. Students also attend homeroom classes for a total of 40 minutes a week. In homeroom, teachers answer questions about college information the student has received, keep the class up to date on deadlines, and announce school events.

The year is divided into three terms which begin in April, September, and January. Some students leave early, in August and December, but most complete the year (a total of 40 weeks). Those at the lower proficiency levels usually go to an intensive English program in the U.S. or Canada for a term beginning in the spring and enter a college or university in the fall. At higher proficiency levels, students may try to enter a university for the summer session, though we recommend that they wait until September to take advantage of orientation sessions for new students.

The Japan Program also offers courses in the evenings for working people and college students. These courses meet five hours per week and focus on cross-cultural themes, listening, and speaking. There is also an MBA

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Preparation course that meets for six hours per week in the evenings. This program focuses on skills such as reading, writing, discussion, and oral presentation. These are important programs, but we will focus here on the daytime intensive program which was begun in 1984.

Changes Over the Years

In the beginning, the ELI was a two-year program divided into an Academic Preparation track and a General English track, although fewer than half the students in the 1985 class had academic aspirations. This division, combined with an open admissions policy, led to dissatisfaction, and the program was changed to a one-year Academic Preparation track in 1986. Since then, both the quality and motivation of the students have improved. As a result of narrowing our focus, we have had to drop some courses, such as American Culture and Conversation. On the positive side, however, we have been able to much more effectively shape our curriculum and better integrate courses and materials.

In 1989, we changed from two 20-week terms per year to our current system of three terms. We have found that even one year is too long to wait for some students who are eager to live in a foreign culture. If students have the skills to leave before completion of the program (i.e., 450 TOEFL), we give them a letter of recommendation and our blessing. If we feel they are not prepared and are likely to spend more than one term in a university intensive English program, we counsel against leaving. The students are, of course, free to go.

Advantages of Studying in Japan

While studying a foreign language in your own country has decided disadvantages, it does have some advantages. This is where we come in. Our main function is to serve as a transition period, both for language-learning and nonlanguage-learning skills.

Nonlinguistic advantages

Our stated goal is to teach English; but more importantly, we try to develop independence, that much-valued American trait. In terms of study skills, we try to wean students from their high school mind-set in which all aspects of their studies are directed by the school. At the beginning of the year, we give students homework assignment sheets and ask them to note their assignments and test days. Teachers spend some time going over study strategies. As the year progresses, less attention is paid to such issues, as it is assumed that the students have worked out efficient systems for themselves. Counseling is given to those who appear to be having trouble. The important thing is that students learn how to study gradually and independently, in a supportive environment.

The independence that we try to instill also goes beyond the classroom. Since our students want to study at U.S. colleges, they must choose a school, get an application, and apply. There are many study centers in Japan that will do every step of this process for the student, from getting the information to completing the application to arranging the visa. However, such assistance is unlikely to be available in the U.S., and we want students to have the experience of going through the process themselves so that they will be able to deal with similar decision-making situations abroad. We give guidance about choosing schools, filling in applications, and getting visas; but the students must then fend for themselves.

Another nonlinguistic advantage of studying in their own country is that some students get a chance to learn to live on their own in a supportive environment. Since some of our students are not from Tokyo, they must learn firsthand what it takes to clean, do laundry, shop, and cook for themselves. But they learn all this in their own environment, with considerable backup support available. Since many of the students will end up in apartments at some point in their university careers, the experience of having kept house for themselves in Japan will make keeping house abroad easier to cope with.

The nonlinguistic transition that we offer is the opportunity to study English intensively

without the pressure and trauma of living abroad. Most students enter our program directly from high school and are very dependent on their families and teachers; they do not have the emotional maturity to cope with living *and* studying on their own in a foreign culture.

Linguistic and cultural advantages

From a teaching point of view, the cultural and linguistic homogeneity of an EFL situation also has an advantage: Language and cultural lessons can be tailored to show differences between the target language/culture and the native language/culture. In a multicultural ESL situation, a teacher cannot spend much time on the problems of a particular group, especially if only one group has a particular problem. Conversely, in a monolingual classroom, the teacher can spend time on only those problems that the group has. This means, for example, that in an all-Japanese pronunciation class, the teacher can spend time on only those problems that Japanese have: [l]/[r], [b]/[v], [f]/[h]. She doesn't have to worry about Arabic speakers being bored during [l]/[r] work or Japanese speakers getting restless during [p]/[b] or [c]/[j] practice. Lessons in other areas of language can also be geared to the specific problems of the monolingual class; Japanese can benefit from work on Latin and Greek-based vocabulary, organizational patterns in writing, conversational styles, and speech acts.

What is true of language lessons is just as true of cultural lessons. In a homogeneous classroom, the teacher can target specific differences in cultural attitudes between the target culture and the native culture, without having to explain points of difference that apply only to other cultures. For example, it is not necessary to dwell on the importance of being punctual when teaching Japanese (unlike when teaching some other cultural groups), but it is necessary to work on turn-taking and conversational interaction.

Disadvantages of Studying in Japan

There are also disadvantages to homogeneous EFL classes—and they are, in some ways, greater than the advantages. The fact that all students speak the same language means that they speak the target language only when they are interacting with the teacher or engaged in a classroom activity—and not always then, either. Threatening, bribing, and screaming "Don't speak Japanese" cannot counter the fact that it's easier for a Japanese student to ask his friend questions in Japanese than in English. In a multilingual classroom, on the other hand, students must interact in English with classmates who are likely to speak different native languages.

The second disadvantage, and probably the more crucial one, is the motivational factor—when EFL students leave the school, they don't need English. The psychological or survival need to use English is simply not there. The Japan Program students in general are fairly highly motivated, especially compared to conversation school or university students, because they want to study in the U.S. or Canada. The goal, however, is still far enough away so that most of them don't feel the pressure to use English as often as they could or should. ESL students have that pressure, and it shows in their willingness to use English without coercion or bribery.

Conclusion

Taking the advantages and disadvantages of monocultural classes into account, we might summarize by saying that in terms of rapid advancement, acquisition of a wide range of vocabulary, and many other measures of proficiency, the ideal situation is for a student to live in the target culture, among speakers of the target language.

Doing so, however, requires a great deal of motivation, emotional maturity, and courage. These are qualities that few 18-year-olds have, especially here in Japan where dependence on the family is a cultural norm. Perhaps the most important thing the University of Pittsburgh English Language Institute Japan Program has to offer is a transition—a bridge—between total dependence on the home culture and total independence in the target culture.

Teaching in Japan: Excerpts from the Temple University Japan *Faculty Guide*

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In 1983, when the first faculty members from Temple University in Philadelphia came to Tokyo to teach at Temple University Japan (TUJ), I wrote a series of individual letters answering faculty questions: How is TUJ organized? How are the students different from American students? What are the English language requirements? What is TUJ's status with the Japanese government and educational authorities? In subsequent years, it became obvious that most faculty had similar questions, so we compiled a *Faculty Guide* designed to provide a flavor of what it is like to teach in Japan and at TUJ.

More recently, as a number of other American universities showed interest in opening campuses in Japan, I shared our experience and much of the information contained in our *Faculty Guide* with administrators from these other institutions. The *Faculty Guide* has undergone several revisions and is now quite lengthy. What follows are excerpts from the *Faculty Guide*, edited for publication in this *Cross Currents* forum, which explain TUJ in view of some of the larger issues related to American branch campuses in Japan.

An Introduction to TUJ

History

In 1980, Temple University received a proposal from several Japanese educators, corporate leaders, and public officials to initiate a unique educational experiment in Japan. A tentative agreement was reached in 1982, and Temple University opened what has become essentially a branch campus in Tokyo. The idea agreed upon was to present Japanese, American, and other foreign nationals living in Japan with an American-style education in a convenient location. The arrangement allowed Temple University to develop a campus in the Far East in one of the most important industrialized nations of the world, to permit faculty members to experience teaching in another culture, to attract Japanese students to the main campus, and to gain national and international recognition.

The TUJ campus may also serve as a base to conduct research involving either comparative or Far Eastern topics. While it remains a matter of individual initiative, Temple University faculty members have increasingly made contact with their counterparts in Japanese universities. These contacts have led to invitations to present papers and participate in panels at Japanese universities; in several instances, joint research projects have been developed.

An American and Japanese joint venture

As the school went through a difficult birth process and matured, the contractual arrangement between Temple University and the Japanese Board of Governors solidified. Temple University is solely responsible for the academic program (administration, staffing, curriculum), and the Japanese Board of Governors is responsible for the financial aspects of the program (collecting tuition and the payment of all expenses).

The staff of TUJ is comprised of three main groups. The first is the Japanese administrative staff who work in the business and academic offices. The Japanese staff operate the financial aspects of TUJ and also oversee recruitment and job placement. The second group consists of the Intensive English Language Program faculty and administration. The third group includes the Temple University faculty members and Dean's appointments who

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teach in the College of Arts and Sciences, the School of Business and Management, and the School of Education. All groups are responsible for the school's academic tone and for TUJ's professional image in Japan.

Together, these three groups comprise an academic and cultural joint venture. Although the goals of the groups are the same, specific interests sometimes differ. There is occasional friction, as with virtually any joint venture, but those who have taught at TUJ agree that cooperation has typically overcome conflict.

Academic programs and population

Temple University Japan opened in June, 1982, with an Intensive English Language Program (IELP), which is still the largest program offered at TUJ. In the fall of 1982, an M.Ed. in TESOL program was instituted. This program has developed into one of the largest and best degree programs of its kind in the world. In 1983, an Arts and Sciences component was initiated. Students seeking B.A. degrees at TUJ can presently major in American Studies, Economics, English, General Studies (with either a Humanities or Social Science track), History, and Political Science. In the fall of 1988, a D.Ed. in TESOL program was begun. Most recently, an M.A. degree in Economics, offered by the School of Business and Management, was approved and put in place.

TUJ has experienced steady growth; in the fall semester of 1990, total enrollments exceeded 2,200. In an agreement signed between Temple University and the Japanese Board of Governors in April, 1989, further controlled expansion was approved for up to 2,400 students by the summer of 1991. In the fall of 1990, there were 50 full-time and 22 part-time faculty members teaching Arts and Sciences courses to 850 students in 170 sections; 65 full-time IELP faculty members teaching 1,100 students in 60 sections; and six full-time and seven part-time faculty members teaching graduate courses in Economics and TESOL to 250 students.

Students wishing a major not offered at TUJ may transfer to the main Philadelphia campus. All TUJ students are encouraged to spend some time on the main campus, regardless of their projected major. Currently, approximately 100 TUJ students a year transfer to the main campus.

Students at TUJ

American professors are routinely surprised and pleased by Japanese students. The students are accustomed to working hard, although hard work in college is not necessarily the norm in Japanese universities. Throughout the primary and secondary school years (and even preschool years, in many instances) Japanese children are driven to perform well. They study diligently, often attending special supplementary schools, hoping to secure acceptance into prestigious universities. The competition is fierce. The reward is acceptance into the university of choice and the honor that a degree from that university bestows.

As a graduate of a top-rated school, such as Tokyo University, a Japanese student is all but assured lifetime employment and quick promotion in a famous company. However, the four years in the university are, traditionally, not very rigorous, and acceptance almost assures graduation. So, the demands of Temple University and the American system of higher education come as a shock to some students.

English language requirements

As a rule, the students' English is not as good as it should be given the fact that they have almost all studied English for six years in junior and senior high school. However, English language instruction in Japanese schools is, by open admission, not very productive and is focused almost entirely on the objective of passing the English language portion of the Japanese university entrance examination. Students can diagram sentences and have amazing understanding of phonetic stress marks. They do not, however, use English as a living language. When they arrive at TUJ, they are almost always deficient in conversation and writing and need considerable practice in reading comprehension.

For this reason, almost all Japanese students enter TUJ's Intensive English Language Program where they study until they pass a standardized proficiency examination (TOEFL exam) with a minimum score of 500. After that, most students enroll in ELECT, the English Language Enrichment Center at Temple, a noncredit course required for students who do not pass a writing placement examination. Students then enroll in the basic freshman composition course. Perhaps the only changes in requirements between the main campus and TUJ are that we require all students at TUJ to take two major writing courses and that we encourage writing components in virtually every course.

Differences in culture, behavior, and rhetorical patterns

Japanese culture clearly affects what goes on in the classroom at TUJ. The students are extremely courteous and virtually never say anything which might offend a professor, as they are quite unaccustomed to challenging a respected superior. If they disagree with the professor, they will not say so in class and will only rarely do so in a private conference. Few students will freely volunteer an answer to a question even when they obviously have an answer. Thus, it takes patience and effort to produce even a minimal debate.

Yet in conferences and conversations, students will ask many intelligent questions, even though they may have declined in class (asking a question in class might imply teacher ineffectiveness). Still, most professors have discovered devices to provoke discussion, ranging from the simple expediency of calling on students by name, to organizing small group discussions, to assigning debate topics for oral presentation.

The students need special help with their essays, especially with organization, development, and the notion of a central idea or thesis. Western logic—inductive and deductive reasoning—can present extreme difficulties for Japanese students, especially when they are struggling with idioms, verb endings, tenses, articles, and punctuation. However, students learn quickly, and it is gratifying to note their rapid progress.

Issues of Accreditation

Temple University Japan is not officially recognized as a university in Japan. Officially recognized Japanese universities (akin to Japanese national accreditation) are under the central authority of the Ministry of Education, an agency of the national government. The Ministry of Education, which subsidizes Japanese schools, does not recognize TUJ as a Japanese university because the TUJ curriculum does not conform to the Ministry's requirements, TUJ does not conduct enough of its courses in Japanese, and TUJ does not employ a majority of Japanese professors. In short, if TUJ met the requirements for Japanese accreditation, it would no longer be an American university. To the traditional Japanese system, therefore, TUJ is an outsider; neither TUJ nor its students receive governmental financial assistance.

However, TUJ is eligible for U.S. accreditation through association with the main campus. In 1989, in conjunction with Temple University's normal accreditation review, the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools conducted a site visit at the TUJ campus, and the TUJ campus is now specifically included in Temple University's accreditation. Therefore, graduates of TUJ enjoy the same status that graduates of the main campus enjoy, including a degree from the main campus, the normal transferability of credits from one accredited institution to another, and certified transcripts from an American university.

Conclusion

In the eight years of its existence, TUJ has become a dynamic, innovative, and successful overseas venture. The international student body, the faculty and academic administration, the Japanese Board of Governors and support staff, and, most importantly, Temple University have all benefited from TUJ's existence and have contributed to its growth and development.

Profiting from Education: Japan-United States International Educational Ventures in the 1980s. Gail S. Chambers & William K. Cummings. Institute of International Education, 1990.

Scott Jarrett

In the 1980s, a phenomenon emerged, the magnitude of which is unique in the annals of higher education—the establishment of branch campuses in Japan by American institutions of postsecondary education. Although a corollary flow of Japanese institutions into the American market also occurred, the American branches in Japan have involved more people, attracted more attention, and generated more discussion (some might say controversy) than have the Japanese branch campuses in the U.S.

In a research report for the Institute of International Education, Gail S. Chambers, an educational economist at the University of Rochester, and William K. Cummings, a sociologist at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, examine this phenomenon. Their report, *Profiting from Education: Japan-United States International Educational Ventures in the 1980s*, is the first comprehensive study of the subject. As such, it should be required reading at educational institutions currently involved in or contemplating involvement in the Japanese market.

Chambers and Cummings state in the introduction that the majority of American branch campuses in Japan are "cooperative ventures" in which

> an institution (usually of higher education) in one nation seeks to expand its international activities through obtaining either a partial or a controlling interest in a foreign higher-education institution. In some instances, the respective institutions are balanced in quality and purpose. More often, one of the institutions brings a particularly valued asset, such as financial capacity, while the partner offers special educational capabilities and/or its official claim to accreditation. These ventures are cooperative in the sense that it is virtually impossible for them to be consummated without the mutual agreement of both parties. (p. 1)

As one might imagine, Japanese investors supply the financing and U.S. institutions provide the educational capacity in most, if not all, Japan-U.S. branch campus cooperative ventures.

Taking "American" Higher Education to Japan and Vice Versa

In this, the first chapter, the authors examine the socioeconomic environment that has fostered the branch campus movement, compare the educational systems of Japan and the United States, and look at some of the myths and assumptions that tend to cloud the thinking of people in both countries.

Financial considerations dominate the socioeconomic factors considered. Topics in this section, such as *Japan as Number One*, can certainly be considered primarily economic, as can *The Japanese Search for Investment Opportunities*, *The Strong Yen*, *Shifting U.S. Regional Economies*, and *The U.S. Trade Imbalance with Japan*. One might say, without fear of reproof, that the driving force behind the movement of American higher education to Japan has been economics, not altruism.

The mostly objective data in the section that compares the two educational systems reveals that there are many more differences than similarities. Of particular interest in the discussion of similarities is the fact that both systems anticipate declines in enrollment and that, in both countries, indigenous degrees lead to jobs. In the rivalry for Japanese students, U.S. branches in Japan will compete not only with each other and with U.S. institutions that enroll students directly at U.S. campuses, but

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also with Japanese institutions that face a precipitous "25 percent drop in the number of eighteen-year-olds from 1993 to 2000" (p. 7). This decline in Japan's student-aged population, coupled with the fact that indigenous degrees are considered more valuable than foreign degrees, means that, in the coming no-holds-barred enrollment battles, American branch campuses must be prepared to recruit and retain students effectively.

In regard to differences, the authors note the hierarchical nature of the Japanese system, especially as it relates to the relatively small number of prestigious universities from which graduates are recruited by the government and by elite firms. Also noted is the lack of mobility within the Japanese higher education system: "In contrast [to the U.S. system of credit transferability], in Japan until recently most institutions have refused to recognize credits earned at other institutions" (p. 8). Accordingly, those Japanese who have completed a junior college course but can go no further in the Japanese system become potential students for American branch campuses. In addition to these contrasts, we find that Japanese who enter the Japanese university system do so with the expectation of graduating, regardless of how hard they study. This attitude has caused some of the most serious misunderstandings between Japanese students (or their parents) and American branch campuses in Japan.

Among the myths and assumptions which are discussed in the final section of the first chapter are the following: the Japanese are rich (they're not; the big banks and corporations are); English can be learned by anyone who tries hard enough; Japanese are better students than Americans (the stereotype originates with the highly motivated Japanese students at American colleges and universities); and the Ministry of Education will reverse itself and recognize the degrees conferred by American branches in Japan (it probably won't).

Chambers and Cummings conclude the chapter by noting:

> In this atmosphere, and without a firm understanding of one another, educators have been pursuing the ideals of international education and advancement, seeking ways for people in both nations to profit from education. (p. 15)

How the Movement Has Developed

The second chapter deals with the way in which the branch campus movement developed, beginning with patterns of international education and overviews of Japanese and American educational ventures overseas. Both countries have had sizeable educational commitments in other countries. Japanese ventures have primarily been designed to serve Japanese living outside Japan, with the largest segment concerned with the secondary schooling of Japanese children. American overseas institutions, on the other hand, generally serve the educational needs of anyone who has the intellectual and financial wherewithal to attend.

Also discussed in the second chapter are the types of institutions involved in international education. In Japan, they are private institutions, public universities, and public governments. Among these, the strongest drive toward internationalization has occurred in the less affluent private institutions, who seek to bolster sagging enrollments, and in prefectural and local governments (especially in the poorer, more rural prefectures), who seek to revive stagnant economies. Public universities receive monies from the central government and don't have to worry about finances, and the wealthy private institutions are also less driven by economics to internationalize.

In the U.S., "the publics" (publicly funded institutions), "the privates" (nonprofit private institutions), and "the proprietaries" (for-profit private institutions, usually vocational) have been scrambling for pieces of an ever-shrinking student pie. The proprietaries grew in the 1980s because of federally funded student aid, but the other two sectors have had to look elsewhere to maintain enrollment levels. This situation led to great efforts to attract foreign students to study in the United States. The next

logical step was to export education—especially, considering the economic environment, to Japan.

In the latter part of the chapter, Chambers and Cummings review some of the precipitating agents of the branch campus movement and a few of the personal connections (some quite serendipitous) that resulted in joint ventures in education. Of special interest here is the Gephardt-Nikaido initiative, a joint effort by both governments, headed by Congressman Richard Gephardt and Diet member Susumu Nikaido, to promote the establishment of American branch campuses in cooperation with Japanese local and prefectural governments. The initiative created a great deal of publicity and an atmosphere of willing cooperation that stimulated joint ventures between American schools and Japanese entrepreneurial partners.

The chapter concludes with a number of case studies of higher education joint ventures between institutions in both countries. This section is easily the most readable and interesting part of the book. The case studies are especially instructive because they chronicle relations between joint venture partners from first contact to the present.

Negotiating Finances and Control

In this chapter, the thorny issue of who should be in control of these joint ventures—the party providing the money or the institution providing the education—is addressed. While U.S. educational institutions might want to maintain control, U.S. tax laws have evolved in a manner that discourages for-profit higher education. Japanese educational institutions, on the other hand, do not operate under such constraints. Another contrast is the "low-risk, modest gain posture" taken by most U.S. institutions in Japan, as opposed to Japanese partners who arrange

> to rent, lease, or finance educational property development in expectation of large long-term gain, based on tenancy by a participating U.S. institution, to which it guarantees [those] modest short-term gains. (p. 54)

One solution to the problem of control has been to split administrative responsibilities between the Japanese and American partners, leaving the Japanese in charge of finances and the Americans responsible for academics. The authors point out that the success of this approach at Temple University Japan (TUJ) (see "Teaching in Japan: Excerpts from the Temple University Japan *Faculty Guide*," page 206) has resulted in its adoption by a number of joint ventures. Two case studies in the chapter, TUJ and Southern Illinois University at Carbondale in Niigata (SIUC-N) (see "An American Comprehensive Public University Linked with a Japanese Municipality," page 191), illustrate the long-term commitment of some American institutions in Japan. The TUJ and SIUC-N case studies also illuminate the contractual arrangements that most U.S. schools negotiate with their Japanese partners in order to avoid violating U.S. tax law under which U.S. institutions, and their branches, must abide.

The Educational Results

Perhaps it is symbolic that the actual education provided in branch campuses is discussed in the shortest chapter in the report and that the chapter ends with a newspaper report about a disillusioned student who sued an American branch campus for breach of promise. What exactly have been the promises of American higher education in Japan? The authors identify two educational objectives, one of which is that mutual understanding be promoted among Japanese and American students. This objective is largely unfulfilled because so few U.S. students attend the branch campuses in Japan.

The other objective is that Japanese young people be exposed to American-style education. Unfortunately, attempts to achieve this objective have created additional problems. The American educational system, unlike the Japanese system in which university graduation is virtually assured once a student is accepted, places the burden for graduating on the student's performance. This difference in expectation causes difficulties in adjustment for Japanese students. Another misunderstand-

ing arises when Japanese expectations regarding entrance into a baccalaureate program are not fulfilled. There is a strong emphasis on English language education in most branch campuses in order to prepare students for English-medium academic classes. Inevitably some students fail, unable to achieve the required English skills. This failure causes some Japanese to regard the branch campuses as little more than high-priced English cram schools.

Who Controls the Use of Public Resources?

In this, the sixth chapter, the authors counsel caution on the part of institutions now operating or considering operating in Japan, advising all parties involved to begin formulating clear guidelines that could help circumvent problems which might occur as the result of violations of either country's tax laws.

Because all institutions of higher education in the U.S. receive some public subsidy, if only a nonprofit, tax-exempt status, the question of whether to support institutions whose branches are joint ventures with for-profit partners must be considered. This is an evolving process for the Internal Revenue Service, which currently appraises the partnerships on a case-by-case basis. This process is subject to political pressure, and a sudden shift in public opinion could change the generally favorable rulings that the IRS has made so far in cases involving Japan-U.S. educational partnerships.

Who Is In Charge of Standards?

Because accreditation is covered in another article in this forum (see "The Role and Value of Accreditation in American Higher Education: At Home and Abroad," page 213), it will not be dealt with extensively in this review.

To briefly summarize, in the seventh chapter, the authors point out that accreditation in the U.S. and regulation in Japan are two completely different processes. In America, accreditation is largely internal and voluntary; it focuses on the educational process. On the other hand, Japanese regulation is conducted by the Ministry of Education and concentrates on such areas as the physical facilities, the faculty, and the fiscal health of an institution. A result of this incompatibility in regulation is the virtual impossibility that an institution can be recognized as a degree-granting institution in both the U.S. and Japan.

Summary and Recommendations

Having presented a comprehensive picture of Japan-U.S. educational joint ventures, Chambers and Cummings issue a call to action. They recommend that the educational leadership in both nations join in addressing the problems outlined in the report. A summary of the report is followed by a cogent set of recommendations for the reform of abuses in the present system and for the establishment of guidelines governing future Japan-U.S. educational joint ventures. The two primary objectives recommended are the improvement of the quality of education offered and the restriction of private profit making.

The authors stress the need to address immediately the larger problems between the United States and Japan through educational programs which would serve to educate the labor force and intercept future misunderstandings. If we are able to find a common ground, the authors maintain, it will only be through joint educational efforts; if we fail in that area, the future is bleak indeed.

Finally, two appendices are included. The first lists the cases identified in the project (a total of 100). The second is a set of guidelines recommended by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools to its member schools who are considering contracting their services in ventures with other organizations.

Chambers and Cummings and the research staff of the Institute of International Education did an excellent job putting *Profiting from Education: Japan-United States International Educational Ventures in the 1980s* together in only six months (the urgency of the situation dictated the limited time frame). The study will certainly help educators and investors in the United States and Japan to better understand the complicated nature of branch campus joint ventures.

The Role and Value of Accreditation in American Higher Education: At Home and Abroad

Marjorie Peace Lenn
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Unlike most countries, the United States has no ministry of education to authorize the offerings of education programs, set educational standards, and establish regulations for enforcing standards. The United States Constitution originally reserved for the states and local governments the primary responsibility for education, including higher education. In interpreting and exercising that responsibility, however, the states often differed radically, and the unevenness of educational standards and practices that resulted led, in the late 19th century, to the beginnings of the modern system of accreditation.[1]

Accreditation is essentially a nongovernmental, voluntary, and self-regulatory approach to quality assessment and enhancement which clearly reflects the divergent, semiautonomous character of American higher education. Academic institutions in Asia, for example, look to an external, and typically governmental, entity for evaluation. Accreditation, on the other hand, operates on a communal concept—an internalized activity which is a creation of the academic and professional educational communities. The external "they" don't decide quality; the internal "we" decide quality.

In the United States, there are 6,000 accredited institutions of postsecondary education, 3,000 of which grant degrees. In Japan, 30 of these degree-granting institutions are providing some form of American education to the Japanese public. In this article, I will first provide an overview of the system of accreditation and then discuss issues of accreditation as they apply to these contemporary American educational programs in Japan.

Principles of Accreditation

The two types of accreditation

There are two basic types of accreditation: institutional and specialized. The accrediting bodies that conduct institutional accreditation comprise the institutions that have achieved and maintain accredited status. The accrediting bodies that conduct specialized accreditation of a program preparing students for a profession or occupation are closely associated with professional associations in the field (e.g., law, medicine, forestry, or dentistry).

The assessment of quality

The cardinal principle of accreditation is that educational quality cannot be determined by the possession of certain fixed characteristics, but only in terms of the objectives or purposes the institution or program seeks to achieve. There is a legitimate diversity of appropriate purposes, from those of a technical school to those of a university. The judgment of quality made by peers must be concerned with whether the institution or program is effectively utilizing its resources to achieve its stated appropriate objectives.

The assessment pattern

Both institutional and specialized accrediting bodies conduct the accreditation process using a common pattern. The pattern requires: 1) a rigorous and candid self-study by the institution or program, examining and evaluating objectives, activities, and achievements based on common accrediting standards; 2) an

[1] This paper is based, in part, on presentations the author made during a visit to Japan at the invitation of the U.S. Embassy in May, 1980.

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on-site visit by a team of peers which provides expert criticism and offers suggestions for improvement; and 3) a subsequent review and decision by a central governing board. Within this general pattern, the various accrediting bodies have developed a variety of individual procedures adapted to their own circumstances.

Institutional Accreditation

American institutions operating abroad must be concerned with institutional accreditation. Institutional accrediting bodies consider the characteristics of institutions as whole entities. For this reason, attention is given not only to the educational programs of the institutions being evaluated, but also to such characteristics as adequacy of the library, student services, finances, buildings, and administration.

The criteria of an institutional accrediting body are broad, as is demanded by the attention to the whole institution and by the widely different purposes and scopes of U.S. postsecondary institutions. Such criteria also provide encouragement to institutions to try innovative curricula and procedures and to adopt them when they prove successful.

What does "accredited status" mean?

In general, accredited status means that the characteristics of the total institution have been considered and that institutional strengths and weaknesses have been weighed. The institution has been found to:

1. have educationally appropriate objectives as defined over time by the American higher education community;
2. have the financial, human, and physical resources needed to achieve these objectives;
3. have demonstrated that it is achieving these objectives now; and
4. have provided sufficient evidence to support the belief that it will continue to achieve its objectives for a reasonable time period.

What can and cannot accredited status do?

Accreditation can attest to the general quality of an educational institution. Institutional accrediting standards apply to such critical matters as mission, governance, academic program, faculty, student services, financial resources, library, and buildings. But, accreditation cannot attest to the quality of individual programs or courses within an institution.

Accreditation can assure the student that the educational activities of an accredited institution have undergone external evaluation and are found to be in conformity with expectations of quality in U.S. higher education. On the other hand, accreditation cannot guarantee that a student either will be admitted or will graduate from an institution, nor can it guarantee the quality of individual graduates. Admissions is the prerogative of the institution and graduation is the responsibility of the student.

Accreditation can help a student transfer academic credits from one U.S. institution to another. Accreditation can help a student gain admission to an advanced degree program through the general acceptance of credits. But accreditation cannot guarantee the transfer of academic credits from one U.S. institution to another U.S. institution or the admissions of students to advanced degree programs, because, again, admissions is the prerogative of each institution or program.

Accreditation can benefit U.S. institutions and programs by providing a stimulus for self-evaluation and improvement. However, accreditation cannot provide a ranking of U.S. institutions or programs. The academic reputation of institutions and the stature of programs in the professions is information generally understood but not officially published.

Accreditation can attest to the educational quality of an institution or program for a reasonable time period. Most accrediting periods range from five to ten years with interim evaluations as needed. However, accreditation cannot have an indefinite duration. If the institution or program changes in a substantive way, the accrediting body must reevaluate its status.

Accreditation can enable an institution to become eligible for certain types of governmental funding. An institution must be accredited, for example, before it can apply for gov-

ernmental funding for research. Also, students who apply to and attend accredited institutions are eligible for governmental student loans. Private foundations also rely on the accredited status of an institution to allocate their funds. But accreditation cannot give foreign nationals access to U.S. governmental student loans.

Official Recognition of Accrediting Bodies

There are two organizations that grant recognition to accrediting bodies: the Council on Postsecondary Accreditation (COPA) and the U.S. Department of Education. The U.S. Department of Education recognizes accrediting bodies which determine the eligibility of institutions for federal funds.

COPA is a nongovernmental organization that works to foster and facilitate the role of accrediting bodies in promoting the quality and diversity of U.S. postsecondary education. The accrediting bodies, while established and supported by their memberships, are intended to serve the broader interests of society as well. To promote these ends, COPA recognizes, coordinates, and periodically reviews the work of its member accrediting bodies and the appropriateness of existing or proposed accrediting bodies. COPA is thus an integral part of the self-regulatory accreditation process. Its membership includes an Assembly of Institutional Accrediting Bodies, an Assembly of Specialized Accrediting Bodies, and a Presidents' Policy Assembly on Accreditation. The latter includes the major presidential higher education organizations which endorse COPA as the lead organization for establishing policies and practices in postsecondary accreditation.

COPA "accredits the accreditors" through the granting of recognition to those bodies which meet its criteria on organizational structure and scope, public responsibility, evaluative practices and procedures, and educational philosophy and related procedures. The accrediting bodies must be nongovernmental and must require, as an integral part of the evaluative process, a self-analysis from the program or institution and an on-site review by a visiting team.

I hope this overview will act as an orientation to the extraordinary process of accreditation. In what follows, I will discuss accreditation as it applies to the recent phenomenon of American educational programs in Japan.

American Educational Programs in Japan

At the turn of the 21st century, the Pacific Rim in general and Japan specifically represent the most dynamic international market for the export of American higher education. Since the beginning of this decade, and mostly within the past year, about 30 American educational institutions have established programs in Japan. The U.S. Embassy in Tokyo informally reports that over 100 institutions of higher education have done feasibility studies concerning a future presence in Japan.

American higher education programs for Japanese nationals are currently found in three forms: branch campuses, language programs, and free-standing programs.

Branch campuses

Branch campuses give academic credit toward a degree and are considered branches of higher education institutions located in the U.S. The accreditation of the U.S.-based institution is extended to the branch when the branch has been separately reviewed and the accrediting body has determined that educational quality exists at the branch. As of December, 1990, there are 15 branch campuses of U.S. institutions established in Japan; six other institutions are planning branch campuses.

Language programs

Language programs can be found either within the offerings of a branch campus or in a free-standing program which is not combined with a degree-granting institution. In either of these situations, language programs should neither carry academic credit nor lead toward an academic degree. These programs are not reviewed separately by accrediting bodies; they are simply considered an offering of the accredited U.S.-based institution. As of December, 1990, there are ten language programs of-

fered in Japan by U.S. institutions which do not have branches in Japan.

Free-standing programs

There are three free-standing programs in Japan as of December, 1990. All are graduate programs offered by U.S. institutions, two in business and one in teacher education. As offerings of accredited U.S. institutions, these programs are not separately reviewed.

The Nature of U.S-Japan Programs

Although American higher education is represented throughout the world in the forms outlined above, its character in Japan differs from that of the rest. In the case of every branch and language program, the financial base and, in most cases, administrative control are Japanese, while the academic program is provided by the American institution.

An additional difference lies in the homogeneous nature of the student body. There is some recent evidence of American students studying at branch campuses in Japan. Generally speaking, however, the student populations are exclusively Japanese.

Japanese expectations of institutions of higher education are often at odds with the nature of American higher education. If admitted into an institution, a Japanese student assumes that he or she will be academically successful. American notions of individual responsibility in scholarship and education, without guarantees of outcome, are foreign to the Japanese. Due to the relatively high failure rate in preparatory English programs, many Japanese students who assume they will graduate from an American educational institution will not even be able to enter a degree program.

Issues of Accreditation

The nature of U.S. higher education in Japan presents a new challenge to the American higher education community and to its primary process of determining educational quality—accreditation. At issue are concerns related to mission, control, financing, academic program, recruitment, and communication.

Mission

Various types of American higher education institutions are represented in Japan: community colleges, state universities, and liberal arts colleges. Vital to the accrediting process is a clear definition of institutional mission. To what extent do these activities in Japan fit into the stated mission of the home educational institutions or agencies?

Control

The American institutions currently in Japan have three types of ownership/financial sponsorship: 1) individual (including current members of the national government); 2) corporate; and 3) prefectural (municipal governments). Although the name and the concomitant reputation of the institution is distinctly American, at what point is the integrity of the institution threatened by factors which affect it directly but which are out of its administrative control?

Financing

Institutions which are nonprofit in the U.S. become proprietary when they cross the Pacific. To what extent can current accrediting standards and processes of financial review fit this new phenomenon?

Academic program

Accrediting standards apply to off-campus educational programs that mirror the program offered on the home campus. However, when a language other than English is used to teach the curriculum or when the sequence of academic offerings is demonstrably different from that of the home institution, at what point is the off-campus educational entity considered separately accreditable or at risk?

Recruitment

Are recruitment practices of the American institutions in Japan clear? Do students realize that admission does not guarantee graduation, that credit transfer is not guaranteed to other American higher education institutions, and that there are differences between university language programs and full-service degree-

granting universities?

Students must transfer to the U.S. campus of most institutions in Japan in order to complete the bachelor's degree. However, in order to meet enrollment goals, some U.S. campuses in Japan have admitted students from Korea and the People's Republic of China. According to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, it is improbable that these students will be issued visas to enter the U.S.

Communication

In the rush to sign contracts in a highly profitable market, some representatives of institutions fail to inform their parent institutions that they now have a presence in Japan, and some institutions fail to notify their institutional accrediting bodies that they are implementing a substantive change.

Accountability

Of the institutions currently represented in Japan, most have dealt with the majority of these issues in an adequate manner. However, there are a few institutions which veer from the mainstream and which have held the attention of the print and television media, contributing to what I call the "lump, dump, and slump" syndrome. Just as the American media tend to treat all forms of Japanese interest in establishing higher education institutions in the United States as one in the same, the Japanese media "lump" all American educational institutions in Japan together and "dump" on them—criticizing the shortcomings of some as the shortcomings of all. The public responds to these generalizations by not applying for admission, leading to a "slump" in enrollment.

Current Activities

Although the character of U.S. higher education institutions in Japan has attracted the attention of the American higher education and accreditation community only within the past year, the response has been immediate.

Guidelines for accreditation

Principles of Good Practice in Overseas International Education Programs for Non-U.S. Nationals was developed in February, 1990, by the directors of the regional institutional accrediting commissions of COPA. This set of guidelines includes 37 principles to be used in conjunction with each commission's own accrediting standards in evaluating such programs. Each commission has given priority to issues related to international education.

Publications

International Education and Accreditation: Uncharted Waters was published by COPA in February, 1990. This pamphlet contains presentations made at the national COPA-sponsored forum bearing the same name. *Profiting from Education: Japan-United States International Educational Ventures in the 1980s* (see review, page 209) was published by the Institute of International Education in May, 1990. This book provides an overview of American higher education in Japan and Japanese higher education in the United States.

Organizations

The Association of American Colleges and Universities in Japan (AACUJ) was voted into existence in Tokyo in September, 1990, by a significant majority of U.S. institutions currently in Japan. The basic purpose of the association is to promote educational quality among U.S. institutions of higher education in Japan.

Programs

Informational programs concerned with American educational programs in Japan have been or will be presented to predominantly American audiences at several national higher education organizational gatherings. These organizations include the National Association of Foreign Student Affairs, the College Board, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, and COPA.

Materials

Informational materials about American higher education and accreditation have been developed and made available for dissemina-

tion in Japan. Materials have been provided to the Japan-U.S. Education Commission (Fulbright Program), the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, the Japanese Ministry of Education, and the Japanese media. At the invitation of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, I made a two-week pilgrimage throughout Japan, speaking to a variety of Japanese audiences about American higher education and accreditation.

Conclusion

Though much has already taken place, much is left to be done. In the future, the U.S. higher education community, through its accrediting bodies and national organizations, will need to focus its energies on the matters outlined above. Japan just happens to be the current focus of American higher education abroad. Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are next.

Preparing Malaysian Students for American University Education

Janice Nersinger
SUNY Buffalo/ITM Cooperative Program, Subang Jaya, Malaysia

In the fall of 1986, the State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNY Buffalo), in cooperation with Malaysia's Institut Teknologi MARA (ITM), established a branch campus in Subang Jaya, a suburb located just outside Malaysia's capital of Kuala Lumpur. The program, sponsored by the Malaysian government, was designed to provide the first two years of an American undergraduate education to Malaysian students. After completing two years at the Malaysian campus, students transfer to various schools throughout the United States to complete their undergraduate education in engineering, management, computer science, and a handful of other fields.

Since 1986, over 1,100 students (31% female, 69% male) have been enrolled in this affirmative action program developed to increase Malay participation in education and commerce. All are *bumiputra*, "sons of the soil," the name given to ethnic Malays and other indigenous races that make up over half of the country's population. By following the 2 + 2 model, (two years of study in Malaysia followed by two years overseas), the government believes it can cut costs, strengthen national identity, and give students the chance to mature before facing the culture shock of living overseas.

The SUNY/ITM program, therefore, has two primary goals: first, to deliver an American university education in Malaysia; and second, to prepare students for the American university education they receive both in Malaysia and subsequently in the United States.

The cooperative program students earn SUNY Buffalo credit for the courses completed in Malaysia. The curriculum followed at the SUNY/ITM campus parallels the coursework offered in similar undergraduate programs at SUNY Buffalo. The American and Malaysian faculty follow syllabi provided by the various departments at the home campus. Changes in syllabi and choices of textbooks require approval from the respective departments in Buffalo. Although start-up was difficult at times, the close working relationship with the home campus ensured the academic integrity of the program. The fixed syllabi provided continuity despite a rotating faculty, and frequent consultations with SUNY Buffalo's academic deans kept the Malaysian campus current with curriculum changes at the

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home campus. The campus was soon well on its way to accomplishing the first of its primary goals: delivering an American university education in Malaysia.

Achieving the other principal goal—preparing students for an American university education—has accounted for the most significant changes in the program to date. English as a Second Language (ESL) curriculum has been adjusted, courses in study skills have been added, and special student orientation sessions have been developed in order to better meet student needs, provide academic survival skills, address faculty concerns, and prepare students linguistically, academically, and psychologically for American university study. This article will focus on these SUNY/ITM program changes.

The Bridge Program

In preliminary discussions with the Malaysian sponsors, it was agreed that SUNY/ITM students would receive approximately 12 weeks of intensive English language training and would then enter regular academic courses. This 12-week English program was called the Bridge Program—a name suggestive of the crossing over from Malaysian to American educational system. The sponsor viewed the program as an opportunity to polish students' already existing English skills, familiarize them with library research, and expose them to American colloquial speech. Prior to the first intake, the sponsor described the students' English language proficiency as high intermediate to advanced. Based on this information, SUNY Buffalo's Intensive English Language Institute (IELI) prepared course syllabi and ordered appropriate instructional materials.

The SUNY/ITM student body is comprised of a homogeneous group of students, linguistically as well as culturally: Their native language is Bahasa Malaysia, they are 18 years of age when they enter the program, they are *bumiputra*, and they are from similar educational backgrounds. However, the English language ability of the first group of students, contrary to original predictions, varied considerably, ranging from the beginning to the advanced level. The ESL faculty quickly made adjustments to the curriculum.

Since it was clear that not all students would be ready for full-time academic course work at the end of one 12-week intensive English program, skill area course syllabi were modified, and new books, appropriate for beginning and intermediate students, were ordered. While students were still encouraged to move through the intensive English language portion of the program as quickly as possible, the sponsor agreed to allow up to one year of ESL instruction for those students who needed it. Therefore, students began credit-bearing courses at various times throughout the academic year: some after one semester of ESL, some after two, and some after three.

As these students began their second and third semesters of study, either continuing in the ESL intensive program or beginning academic courses, feedback from academic and ESL faculty, as well as from students, indicated that most students did not know what to expect or what was expected of them. The ESL faculty examined the curriculum yet again, and the original course offerings were adjusted in order to include a study skills component.

The Study Skills Component

In the early days of the program, a frequently heard comment from newly arrived non-ESL faculty was that the students simply did not understand. This lack of understanding was usually not attributed to a language barrier, but to cultural misunderstandings which led to frustration in teaching and learning. Academic faculty were quick to confirm what ESL faculty already knew: A high TOEFL score is not a guarantee of academic success. Feedback from the faculty revealed the need to familiarize the students with American teaching methodologies and styles.

Previous schooling, in which rote memorization and a teacher who provides a single correct answer are central, influences student behavior in the SUNY/ITM program. Early in the program, for instance, one of our students

was totally perplexed over the fact that information given by the professor contradicted information in the text. When told that the information in the book might very well be the author's opinion—an opinion that her own professor did not share—the student could not fathom that opinions, rather than facts, were being taught. In desperation, she begged to be told which opinion was right.

Other commonplaces of American university education were similarly unimaginable to our students. For example, one faculty member reported that a group of students had no idea what their grades were for a particular course, despite several quizzes, graded homework assignments, and a course overview which outlined the grading policy. Some students did not realize that three equally weighted grades of A, B, and C amounted to a B average. Another group of students went to the program registrar, rather than to the professor, to find out midterm grades.

To counter these misunderstandings, it was decided to give students a more explicit orientation to study skills throughout the program. Prior to the start of each Bridge Program, students are now directly told that they must each have a book, must attend and participate in class, and must work individually. They are told to set up appointments with professors, drop in during open office hours, and seek help when a concept is not understood. They are also told that instructors expect them to ask questions, challenge concepts, and express opinions and original ideas—expectations not found in Malaysian classrooms.

In ESL classes, intensive study skills are emphasized. Academic faculty are recruited to give lectures to Bridge Program students. The lectures are videotaped and used in various Bridge Program courses along with teacher-prepared materials designed to develop vocabulary as well as reading, listening, and note-taking skills.

This pioneering activity serves three useful purposes. First, it reinforces the study skills activities taught in class. Second, it allows non-ESL faculty to become involved in academic preparation. Finally, it exposes students to real academic lecture material. This exposure is desirable because students are very sensitive to extended ESL instruction. Despite efforts to convince them otherwise, students who do not test out of the ESL program at the end of the first semester are viewed as inferior by their fellows. Exposure to real lecture and textbook materials provides these students with a preview of their future non-ESL classes.

Once students enroll in credit-bearing courses, they are required to take a four-credit-hour course in study skills. This course was added to the curriculum based on the belief that students with good academic abilities often fail to do well in college courses because they have not modified their study habits to meet the demands of an American university. The course helps students expand their skills in the critical areas of lecture comprehension, note taking, and test taking. The course also addresses the participatory nature of U.S. education, time management, and academic dishonesty.

The American faculty is sensitive to the fact that students are unaccustomed to give-and-take classroom behavior. They have learned that developing discussion in class is possible, but that it is a slow process which requires constant reinforcement and encouragement. To their credit, most of our faculty have made the effort to educate students in both content and behavior. While these practices might be considered spoon-feeding in a U.S. classroom, they are not regarded as such in Subang Jaya: They are useful in helping students learn to cope with a new educational environment.

The success of the expanded study skills course and the various study skills activities built into the Bridge Program eventually led to the development of content modules in the intensive English program.

Content Modules

The traditional skills-based university curriculum provided by SUNY Buffalo's IELI was a logical way to begin English language training at the Subang Jaya campus. Over time, however, it became clear that the trans-

planted model did not meet all our students' needs. The curriculum was based on separate courses in grammar, reading, language lab (listening), writing, and speaking. Each course had its own syllabus and textbook; there was no integration of subject matter among the various courses.

While this approach met linguistic objectives, its academic preparation effectiveness was limited. Continuing faculty feedback also indicated that students were limited in general knowledge (usually in a Western-civilization sense) and in critical thinking skills (synthesizing and analyzing). ESL faculty were faced with two additional curriculum concerns. First, many students were not well prepared for academic courses even though standardized university entrance tests indicated adequate ESL skills. Second, due to limited resources, students who were required to take three semesters of ESL instruction frequently used the same texts for two different levels. The ESL curriculum was therefore adapted again to meet these academic and language conditions.

Content-based modules were developed to meet the needs of Bridge Program students planning to enroll in credit-bearing courses the following semester. Each module is a four-week, self-contained unit that can be taught independently of other modules. Each module has a content theme through which language skills are taught. All skill areas are incorporated, though reading and discussion skills are emphasized. Authentic readings from academic textbooks are used. Listening and note-taking activities center around lectures delivered by professors from SUNY and ITM and talks given by professionals from the community. Writing tasks are related to the content areas. Movies, documentaries, television programs, and instructional videos relevant to the topic are used in all modules. Grammar is taught separately.

In the ecology module, for example, three lectures are given: "The Malaysian Rain Forest"; "Alternate Energy Sources"; and "Wildlife Conservation in Urban Areas." Readings include an article by Dr. Barry Commoner, a textbook excerpt dealing with pollution in the Great Lakes, and a magazine article dealing with environmental issues in the Soviet Union. For writing activities, students summarize lectures and readings, write a comparison of energy sources, and prepare a research project. Students work either in groups or individually to research topics related to ecology (oil spills, the greenhouse effect, deforestation), using a source file of clippings from periodicals and library references. Speaking activities include role plays, panel discussions, and oral reports related to the research projects.

The content modules are well received by students and benefit them in many ways. Students are exposed to real academic situations. They read authentic textbooks and listen to and take notes on authentic lectures given by recognized experts. Students are also challenged by the high-level and high-interest-level materials. Perhaps the most important benefit is that the lecture format, follow-up discussions, readings, and writing assignments help prepare students for the university credit-bearing classes they will take in subsequent semesters; thus, students begin to understand the relevance of both English and the content material itself to their future studies. Additionally, the content modules have contributed to impressive gains in students' TOEFL scores, especially for those at the high-intermediate to advanced levels.

The program as a whole also benefits from the content modules. By working together, the ESL and non-ESL faculty gain a better understanding of the problems each group faces. Non-ESL faculty, often initially frustrated and confused by the differences in learning styles between Malaysian and American students, have the opportunity to see firsthand that Malaysian students are capable of taking notes, asking and answering questions, writing reports, and, in general, behaving and performing like American university students.

Ongoing Orientation

As recipients of government scholarships, our students are selected, assigned to our pro-

gram, and assigned a major by the sponsoring agency. They are enrolled in our program knowing very little about the system of higher education in the United States, about the coursework involved in their designated majors, and about the career options available once a degree has been earned.

In order to provide background information to fill in these blank areas, a series of orientation components was designed to complement the curriculum changes already described. Each component addresses a specific cultural and content need and is offered during a different semester of the students' freshman and sophomore years. A description of the components follows.

American Studies

Students take the American Studies course during the Bridge Program. This course introduces American history, culture, and current events through lecture topics which include Regionalism, Ethnic Diversity, American Family, Living in the U.S.A., Education in America, Working in America, Government and Politics, America's Musical Tradition, Religious Groups in America, Media and Communications, and Leisure in the U.S.A.

In addition to the content material, the course also introduces students accustomed to passive learning to the dynamics and the interactive nature of the American university lecture/recitation format. To accomplish this, the class meets for a large group lecture one hour per week. Students and instructor later meet in small group recitation sessions designed to encourage student participation through questions, panel discussions, attitude surveys, opinion sharing, problem solving, and presentations.

Undergraduate Education 101

During their first semester of academic study, students take UE 101, Introduction to the American University. The course provides an understanding of American higher education and an awareness of the differences between Malaysian and American education. Topics include American Education System, Structure of the University, Trends in American Education, International Aspects of the American University, Academic Regulations, Degree Requirements (general education, premajor, major, and free elective courses), Methods of Instruction, Examination and Grading Systems, and Academic Honesty. This one-credit-hour course meets one hour per week throughout the semester.

Academic Awareness Program

In order to provide an awareness of what is required to achieve academic success in their major fields of study, students with the same majors meet in groups of ten or less with a faculty member who teaches in their field. During the second semester of academic study, the group meets for three 90-minute sessions to hold discussions in an informal, nonthreatening atmosphere. The discussions include Classroom Roles, Educational Philosophy, Academic Atmosphere, Ongoing Evaluation, Laboratories, Term Papers, and Faculty.

The meetings are designed to provide our students, who are often reluctant to seek out faculty members individually, with an awareness of the accessibility of American university professors and an opportunity to meet with a local faculty member informally.

Professional Awareness Program

Since students come to the program with an assigned major, many of them lack information about career options available once a degree has been earned. In order to familiarize students with the job opportunities and responsibilities related to their field of study, and to provide them with the opportunity to meet and talk with professional role models from their own country, company visits are organized during the third semester of academic study. Prior to the site visit, students receive background information on the company to be visited, and the company contact person is given background information on the students. This information is exchanged in order to increase the likelihood of the students' active

involvement during the site visit.

Discussions are held after a tour of the facility. Topics include Formal Education, Career Opportunities, Job Search, Desirable Skills, and Job Competence.

School Transfer Selection Process

During their fourth semester of academic study, students begin the school transfer selection process. In the initial two-hour group meeting, advisors from the Office of Student Services meet with students to inform them of the documents that are required for transfer and to teach them how to research schools. The meetings are also designed to provide students with an awareness of the suitability and desirability of specific U.S. schools. Schools are discussed in terms of their size, location, climate, academic quality, student body composition, day-to-day campus life, and admissions requirements. Assistance is provided as students complete admissions application forms, financial support documents, letters of recommendation, and application essays. Students then meet individually with advisors to discuss choices of schools, with follow-up meetings as appropriate.

Predeparture Orientation

During the last semester prior to departure to the United States, students receive a four-part orientation that provides them with practical information and cultural survival skills related to studying and living in the U.S. The first session is a panel discussion conducted by returned graduates. The graduates answer general questions from soon-to-transfer students about experiences in the U.S. The second session, which deals with the U.S. style of academic advising, consists of small group workshops in which students design a mock class schedule using catalogues and course listings from a specific school. Registration procedure is explained in the third session. Students are then walked through a simulated registration process. The final session covers practical concerns such as immigration, arrival on campus, housing, banking, shopping, health care, security, and transportation.

Conclusion

While it is difficult to determine whether the curriculum changes and orientation sessions have actually been successful in helping our students adjust to American universities, negative faculty comments regarding students' ability have become less common over the semesters. Students have generally provided positive feedback on the content modules and the various orientation components. Preliminary reports indicate there has not been a significant change in the students' academic performance after transfer to U.S. schools; this suggests a minimum of adjustment problems.

SUNY/ITM students must meet American faculty standards and expectations and, unlike international students studying on campuses in the U.S., must do so without the benefit of American students in class as role models. Most American faculty are accustomed to having some international students in the classes they teach in the U.S.; in Malaysia they face an entire class of international students. East meets West in Subang Jaya, and the potential for misunderstanding is high. Poor student performance results in dismissal from the program. While dismissal for poor grades is a reality of university education, dismissal due to an unawareness or a misunderstanding of expectations, especially when academic ability exists, is much more difficult to accept.

Since the first semester of instruction, program administrators and faculty have had to face the problematic issue of preparing students for study—doing enough so students can deal with Subang Jaya courses, but not so much that they cannot succeed on their own in the United States. The SUNY/ITM program has attempted to deal with the issue responsibly by implementing the curriculum changes described above. The intention is not to change American higher education in order to help our students, but rather to develop a cultural, academic, and professional awareness in our students in order to help them succeed in American higher education.

The Globalization of Education: A Malaysian Perspective

Terry Fredrickson
ITM-MUCIA Cooperative Program,
Shah Alam, Malaysia

The sign on the administration building may read "Indiana University," the curriculum may be derived from the home university system, and the credits conferred may carry the Indiana University guarantee, but this is not a typical branch campus. How could it be? Located half way around the world in Malaysia, it is as much a part of its Southeast Asian setting as it is American. And if tomorrow it were to pull up stakes and move to Europe, Japan, or Latin America, it would undoubtedly assume a very different character. But for someone like myself who has devoted five years to helping build this program, it is sometimes hard to admit that much of what we have put together in Malaysia may be country-specific, even program-specific, with limited application elsewhere.

To what extent can we generalize on the growing phenomenon of the globalization of higher education? Within limits, I suspect there are significant insights to be made, but only after careful examination of particular experiences. Here is one such examination, viewed first from the perspective of our branch campus program as a whole, and then from my particular vantage point as director of pre-university training.

An Overview of ITM-MUCIA

In 1985, the Midwestern Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA), in cooperation with the Institut Teknologi MARA (ITM), opened an American university program in Shah Alam, Malaysia. Since that time, MUCIA, whose members include eight universities from the Big Ten Conference, has provided the first two years of university education to government-supported undergraduates, after which they transfer to universities throughout the United States to complete their studies. Indiana University leads the project and is responsible for the curriculum, the recruitment of faculty, and the placement of students in the United States. To date, the program has enrolled approximately 3,000 students, almost 1,000 of whom have now graduated from American universities.

The Government Influence

Student population and behavior

Perhaps more than any other factor, the MUCIA program in Malaysia is shaped by the fact that it is sponsored by the Malaysian government. Above all, this is an affirmative action program, an arm of the New Economic Policy which aims to reduce economic inequalities between the so-called indigenous population, the *bumiputra*, and the other more economically advantaged segments of Malaysia's multiracial society. Thus, the student population is almost entirely Malay and overwhelmingly Islamic.

If government policy selects the students, it also determines their courses of study. Thus, to ensure that graduates will be competitive in Malaysia's rapidly diversifying economy, practical majors predominate; at present, engineering, business, and computer science are ascendant, although shifting needs-projections can alter the mix at short notice. The upside to this is that students should be able to find jobs upon their return; initial reports from returning graduates are encouraging in this regard. But the downside is that, with the narrow range of majors, many students end up in fields they know little about; mismatches do occur.

With the large government stake in the success of the program, it is not surprising that student behavior is closely regulated. Students live in supervised hostels (although their

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movements are not unduly restricted), they follow a dress code, and religious instruction is compulsory. Students also attend class—regularly and punctually—and do their homework. This is partly because they are reasonably responsible to begin with and partly because Malaysian standards for continued enrollment are tougher than those of Indiana University. Slackers generally do not last. It now takes a 2.3 of 4.0 CGPA before students are eligible to go to the United States, and there is talk of raising this to a 2.5. Now that students receive government loans rather than scholarships, with forgiveness of debt based on academic performance, we may expect even greater scholastic effort in the future.

Future plans

Long-term governmental goals also affect the nature of the program, and MUCIA has increasingly found itself in the role of institution building. Plans are afoot to eventually make this an independent degree-granting Malaysian institution with its own faculty and transcript. Indeed, much has already been accomplished to lay the groundwork for the transition. In the past three years, there has been a dramatic increase in Malaysian faculty members, including the appointment of Malaysian assistant area coordinators. Academic advising is now entirely in the hands of Malaysians, and more recently, Malaysians have taken over administrative functions previously carried out by expatriates. This semester, for example, we have a local registrar.

The MUCIA challenge during this transitional phase is to maintain the academic integrity of an increasingly complex Malaysian-American university program. Thus far, this has been accomplished in two ways. First, by contract, Indiana University has total control of the curriculum as well as final hiring approval of all faculty members. To my knowledge, this policy has never been seriously questioned, and the program has been able to maintain strict standards of instruction. This is necessary, for in a program where over 90% of the students transfer to other institutions after two years, the integrity of the credits conferred is a serious matter indeed. Second, since many of the local faculty are young and relatively inexperienced, they enter the program at junior levels as laboratory or teaching assistants. Several departments have therefore initiated faculty development programs which include graduate seminars taught by senior expatriate faculty members.

Preuniversity Preparation

I use the term *preuniversity* preparation rather than *language* preparation because it has become apparent, through the experience of five years and nine student intakes, that achieving academic readiness is a multifaceted process. In Malaysia, language preparation plays a major role, but students also need to develop academic study skills and habits. They must learn to deal comfortably with mathematics in English, reorient their approach to science from rote learning to analysis, and become computer literate. Thus, we have found it necessary to go beyond traditional ESL and establish a true University Preparation Program (UPP) which relies on input and staffing from many of the university's academic departments.

I began this article by questioning our capacity to generalize on the global university experience. To a large extent, my reservations hold for the preuniversity preparation phase of the experience as well. Certainly MUCIA's heavy dependence on local ESL instructors, for example, would be hard to duplicate in many countries which lack the English language sophistication of Malaysia. However, it may be possible to make some observations of more general relevance. The following observations are drawn largely from my Malaysian experience, but since I have worked with prospective university students in many other environments, I have tried to focus on areas of general interest to the field.

English language preparation

From what I have heard from many overseas programs, a government-sponsored pro-

gram in Malaysia should be the envy of many. Since eligibility for government support requires a strong secondary school performance, most students come to us capable of doing university work. Then there is Malaysia itself, a former British colony with long experience in the use of English in education, commerce, the law, and the government. Despite the recent emphasis on Bahasa Malaysia, the national language, and its introduction as the medium of instruction in schools, English is widely spoken, especially in mixed racial settings. There is extensive English language radio and television programming, and there are two mass circulation English language newspapers. This helps explain why, even though our students have spent their entire educational careers in a Bahasa Malaysia medium, their average TOEFL score prior to entry into the UPP is about 480.

But this is misleading. Since our students are almost entirely Malay with the national language as their native tongue, they have not felt a strong need to master English, and their knowledge of the language is often largely passive. Furthermore, as an affirmative action program, we accept a disproportionate number of rural Malay whose exposure to English is minimal. But even the urban Malays in our program, whose spoken English may be quite fluent, have had little occasion to read or write the language at levels approaching that required of university students.

Of course, not all the students' problems are language related. Students must enter an educational system with vastly different expectations and instructional methods. Their coursework is rigorous and, with limited offerings available in Shah Alam, their schedules are often heavier than they would be in the United States. Given the complexity of preparing for such a program, it is not surprising that 60% of our incoming students spend a full year in the UPP. The UPP is committed to accelerated academic placement whenever possible, but thus far, students placed early have often experienced difficulties in their first year; hence our conservative policy.

Interdepartmental cooperation

It is easy to become spoiled as an ESL director of an overseas branch campus. I, for example, am in charge of the program's largest staff. I sit on the inner councils and have regular access to both the Provost and the local Malaysian administration. The reason is simple: The success of the program depends on students having a high level of English language proficiency, a fact that is obvious to everyone. This can be translated into a degree of cooperation between the ESL program and academic departments that is unheard of on home campuses.

A good example of such cooperation is our pre-science course, a one-semester physical science laboratory which is essentially an introduction to critical thinking in the hard sciences. The course came about because students commonly had no exposure to the hard sciences for a full two years between completion of secondary school and their first university science course in the United States. With only the vaguest memories of high school science, students suddenly found themselves in university chemistry or physics courses taught in a foreign language with unfamiliar instructional methods.

A bridge course in the hard sciences was clearly needed, but who was to write it and who was to staff it? It was hardly the type of course an ESL department could undertake on its own. So, at the request of the Provost, the course became a joint venture between the chemistry, physics, and ESL departments. A chemistry professor wrote the initial course content in consultation with several MUCIA physicists and chemists. The ESL department then added a language component. Since its introduction, the course has been staffed by ESL instructors with science backgrounds and U.S.-educated Malaysian tutors borrowed from the physics and chemistry departments. This semester, with the course firmly established, we are for the first time hiring full-time instructors to augment the regular staff.

While this is a good example of the potential of formal cooperation, informal collabora-

tion is a daily occurrence. An American branch campus such as ours is a small community with members regularly meeting socially as well as professionally. For those of us in the University Preparation Program, these contacts are a constant source of ideas, and many a conversation has resulted in curricular additions or revisions.

Mathematics preparation

One of the success stories of the past year has been the dramatic improvement in entry-level academic mathematics performance, both in college algebra and beginning calculus. Students are taking these courses earlier and scoring higher than at any time in the program's history. This is unquestionably the result of the creation of a UPP mathematics department under the direct supervision of the academic mathematics department. The curriculum is designed to lead directly into academic mathematics courses, and mathematics placement is now based almost entirely on performance in UPP mathematics courses, regardless of a student's level in the ESL program. Thus, it is no longer unusual for lower-level ESL students to take academic mathematics courses, although these courses are generally delayed until students have completed six months of language training.

Cultural Observations

I first arrived in Southeast Asia in 1968 as a Peace Corps volunteer in southern Thailand. I was an instant expert easily able to place the Thais, their country, and their culture into neat and distant categories. Now, after 13 years in that country and five in Malaysia, I claim no such expertise. There are too many exceptions to my generalizations and too many individuals among the Thais, Malays, Chinese, and Indians to make neat categorizations feasible. Still, in developing a program like this one in a foreign setting with one cultural group predominating, working assumptions about that group are inevitable and help shape program objectives, curriculum, and teaching methods. Letting these assumptions solidify, however, ignores the complexity of the foreign setting and impedes perception.

An underlying assumption of the UPP has been that one of its major tasks is to help our students develop behavior patterns appropriate to American university classrooms. Since Malaysian students are used to teacher-dominated classrooms with little opportunity for active participation, they are introduced to more active learning styles, such as the discussion format. In some classes, participation is actually part of the grade. In addition, the UPP places great emphasis on individual initiative and responsibility, critical thinking, and intellectual curiosity. It also attempts to set up an environment where English is the main campus language.

However, few of our behavioral modification efforts appear to have been successful. American professors report that students are still largely passive in class and that their questions are more likely to center on the coming exam than the nature of physics or the workings of business. Bahasa Malaysia remains the overwhelming language of choice. Indeed, there is considerable peer pressure to limit English to the classroom.

The assumption most often made is that intractable cultural factors are at play here and that substantive change is wishful thinking. But are there other factors at work? I suspect so. In my classroom observations of Malaysian ESL instructors, for example, I have seen remarkable levels of student participation. I know of several hostel apartments where students permit only English. I have seen many examples of student initiative, including an active student council, a student-organized interclass debate series, and an innovative peer tutorial program for students in academic difficulty.

As an outsider, I'm not sure I understand the social dynamics behind these phenomena, but then I don't have to—as long as they continue to take place. I expect to see an English-speaking campus some day, largely instigated by the Malaysians themselves. My job is to not get in the way.

LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION:
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BOOK REVIEWS

Cognitive Linguistics, Volume 1. Dirk Geeraerts, Editor. Mouton de Gruyter (Berlin), 1990.

Humanism in Language Teaching. Earl W. Stevick. Oxford University Press, 1990.

Reviewed by Robert O'Neill

What is Cognitive Linguistics? And why should there be a review of the first issue of a new journal with that name in *Cross Currents?* In other words, what relevance has it to practical language teachers and people with an interest in cross-cultural communication?

Nobody should assume that the answers to these questions, and particularly to the last one, are self-evident. It is facile to assume that a knowledge—scientific or otherwise—of any kind of linguistics is easily transferred into effective teaching or classroom communication. Too often, the reverse seems to be true. This does not mean it is better to be ignorant. It means that there are at least two types of knowledge and that sometimes the sort that is academically respectable is, at best, only marginally useful in the classroom.

What Does *Blue* Mean?

Why then a review of *Cognitive Linguistics?* The beginnings of the answer can be found in what may at first appear a rather unlikely place—in Anna Wierzbicka's article "The meaning of color terms: semantics, culture, and cognition," in which she discusses the difference between the meanings of ordinary words and their scientific definitions. For example, Wierzbicka asks, "What does the word *blue* mean?" (p. 100). She responds:

> To some scholars, questions of this kind may seem foolish, because they believe that the meaning of every color term can be identified in terms of the physical properties of light such as wave-length or relative energy....In fact, however, scientific knowledge of this kind is entirely beside the point, if we are interested in MEANING, and if by meaning we understand, essentially, what PEOPLE MEAN when they use the words in question....Scientific knowledge of wave length associated with different color terms is valuable in a textbook of physics, but when it is repeated in linguistic books and articles and presented as if it were an answer to questions about meaning, it only clouds the issue and stands in the way of our search for real understanding of what people mean when they use these words. (pp. 100-101)

What Wierzbicka says here can be transferred, metaphorically and accurately, to what linguists sometimes tell us about language. Phonemic distinctions are defined in terms of auditory and articulatory phenomena that have

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relevance mainly for ear-eye-nose-and-throat specialists or acoustical engineers. Semantic relationships in language are explained as if understanding neurolinguistic phenomena were the same as understanding the words themselves. Mathematical representations of language structure are offered as if they somehow explained the processes that humans use when they employ those structures in ordinary communication.

To put it another way, all native speakers of a language possess detailed and systematic—mainly unconscious—knowledge of that language. Formal or verbal analysis of that knowledge may help us to grasp something of the structure of that knowledge but *nothing of its essence*, that is, nothing about the way ordinary users of language conceptualize language or develop those informal sets of insights and rules that allow them to use language accurately and meaningfully in the first place.

The Journey of Love

How can we study the internal systems that speakers use when generating language? Is Cognitive Linguistics a better means than Generative Linguistics of doing this? If there is an answer to this question, it is in the difference of focus that characterizes the two disciplines.

In his article "The Invariance Hypothesis: is abstract reason based on image-schemas?," another contributor to the journal, George Lakoff, defines Cognitive Linguistics as having two primary commitments, the Generalization Commitment and the Cognitive Commitment. The first is "a commitment to characterizing the general principles governing all aspects of human language" (p. 40). The second is "a commitment to make one's account of human language accord with what is generally known about the mind and the brain, from other disciplines as well as our own" (p. 40).

Lakoff then describes the difference between Generative and Cognitive Linguistics.

> Both enterprises see themselves as scientific and as committed to maximizing precision. But generative linguists tend to define precision as the use of the mathematics of combinatorial systems, while cognitive linguists have no such restriction on what counts as precision. Thus when Noam Chomsky described generative linguistics as committed to no more than being "precise and complete", he was assuming that the use of certain systems of combinatorial mathematics was the only way to be "precise".... Cognitive Linguistics has a very different view as to what counts as scientific: To those who take the generalization and cognitive commitments as primary, the scientific study of language consists in seeking general principles governing all of language consistent with our overall knowledge about cognition and the brain. (pp. 44-45)

But how will this really help someone like me, a messy workman in the messy field of teaching English to nonnative speakers? Well, for one thing, it might make me look more seriously at some of the informal but subtle devices and images humans regularly use to represent to themselves and to each other their knowledge of the world—which, of course, includes language.

One of the most prominent of these devices, the metaphor, is the subject of the rest of Lakoff's article. He studies ordinary examples of metaphors that refer to romance and love, such as "Look how far we've come," "It's been a long, bumpy road," and "We're at a crossroads."

Cognitive linguists speak of metaphors as having a topography. Love and romance metaphors, for example, compare the topography of one domain (journeys) with another (love). Lakoff notes:

> Examples like this show that what is involved is not just conventional language, but a conventional mode of thought. They reflect a way of thinking about love in terms of a certain kind of journey: The lovers are travellers on a journey together, with their common life goals seen as destinations to be reached. The relationship is their vehicle, and it allows them to pursue those common goals together....It is a unified way of *con-*

> *ceptualizing* love metaphorically that is realized in many different *linguistic* expressions. (pp. 47-49)

Lakoff then extends this way of conceptualizing to language itself.

> What is more interesting, and I think more exciting, is the realization that many of the most basic concepts in semantics are understood metaphorically—concepts like time, quantity, state, change, action, cause, purpose, means, modality and even the concept of category. (p. 51)

Using ordinary, very familiar metaphors that we hear every day, Lakoff shows how we visualize the past as behind us and the future as ahead of us, how we represent causes as forces, progress as movement, purposes as destinations, and death as departure, and how we map basic concepts such as existence ("here") and nonexistence ("there"). This is perhaps why in English we "bring about something" (movement towards the metaphorical "here") but "take someone out" (i.e., "kill," action away from "here" towards "there").

Cognitive Linguistics

There are five articles in all in this first number of *Cognitive Linguistics*. The journal is not aimed at any one specific group of readers, but rather at a variety of groups who share a common interest in the relationship between language, thought, and experience. In his editorial statement, Dirk Geeraerts says that articles may

> adopt either a linguistic point of view... or...assume that perspective of a neighboring discipline such as psycholinguistic experimentation, anthropological fieldwork, computer simulation, and philosophical analysis. (p. 1)

The titles in this number, however, are all written from a linguistic point of view. I found each in some way rewarding. In his article "Subjectification," Ronald W. Langacker writes of the crucial importance of *perspective* in language—of how the manner in which speakers visualize their own spatial relationship to an event influences their language when describing it. In "Domains and connections," Gilles Fauconnier explores the ways in which linguistic forms are used to suggest maps of the real and the metaphysical worlds which the speaker is referring to, and also to suggest the interconnection between those two worlds. This involves even true-false relationships and how language structure suggests what is true and what is not in a statement.

It was only from Wolfgang Dressler's article "The cognitive perspective of 'naturalist' linguistic models" that I had difficulty extracting something concrete which I could use as a teacher; but this, I suspect, has far more to do with the author's style and my own temperament than with the contents of the article.

Cognitive Linguistics (both the journal and the subject) promises to stimulate thought about the ways native speakers conceptualize and relate their experience of the world to and through their language. *Cognitive Linguistics* may also help teachers like myself to understand more about the cognitive processes involved in foreign language acquisition.

Humanism in Language Teaching

An analysis of metaphor and the kinds of phenomena that interest cognitive linguists also plays a major role in Earl Stevick's latest book, *Humanism in Language Teaching*. This is the first in Oxford University Press' New Perspectives Series, edited by Alan Maley.

Few people in the field of language learning and teaching write with Stevick's breadth of vision and depth of practical experience. If there are applications of Cognitive Linguistics to language teaching, they will be found in Stevick's writing, even if Stevick never uses the term. But then, people like Caleb Gattegno, Carl Rogers, and Charles A. Curran, whose ideas Stevick analyses in this book, do not use the terms "humanism" or "humanistic" to describe themselves either.

These two terms are notoriously elusive—and many of the people associated with them

seem to take delight in being evasive when asked for definitions. Stevick begins his analysis of humanistic language teaching by referring not to the principles of self-avowed humanistic teachers like Gertrude Moskowitz, but to those of Karl Popper. Popper's theories, it will be remembered, are at the center of the critique of scientific methodology (see Chapter 1 for a thorough discussion of Popper's work). In the rest of the book, Stevick remains consistent with Popper's approach to science and true scientific theory as he answers the following, and other, questions: "What can we mean by 'humanism'? (Chapter 2)....How do humanistic principles show up in certain approaches not ordinarily called 'humanistic'? (Chapter 7). What unchallenged assumptions (what 'faiths') may be tied to the acceptance—or rejection—of the positions discussed in this book?" (p. 8).

The Three Worlds

One of the metaphors Popper is famous for is that of the Three Worlds. World 1 is of concrete phenomena like tables and belches and stars and planets; World 2 is of mental states—of subjective experience of things in the world (not the sun rising or the measurable acoustical phenomena of Beethoven's Third Symphony, but our perception of those things); and finally, World 3 is of ideas, of theories, of mental constructs such as Applied Linguistics, Christian Science, Marxism, Freud's Psychopathology, and, indeed, humanistic theories of language teaching and Popper's own theory of the Three Worlds.

Language teaching in general and the humanistic species of it in particular are arenas in which the distinctions between the Three Worlds seem at times remarkably fuzzy. Humanists themselves are often accused of blurring these distinctions.

Not long ago in Japan, for instance, I took part in a kind of English as a second language conversation class given by a certified clinical psychologist (this was how she described herself). The conversations involved putting the students in a trance-like state in which they remembered and then spoke about painful and even traumatic experiences. At least one person in the group wept. Incorrigible cynics like myself tried to look vaguely amused, or told deliberately fictional and even scurrilous stories about themselves.

When, after the lesson, I asked the certified clinical psychologist/language teacher how she could justify these methods, she looked at me as if I were a child with a particularly naive question. "But surely it's obvious, isn't it!" she exclaimed. "Unless you put these Japanese in touch with their inner souls, you'll never teach them to speak English!"

Which of Popper's worlds did she think her students' "inner souls" were in? She spoke as if they were concrete things in World 1, like intestines or hernias. But they were really things whose existence can be argued about only if we agree they belong to Worlds 2 and 3.

Stevick is especially concerned to make us aware of the intellectual confusion and mischief that comes when we fail to realize which of Popper's Three Worlds we are talking about. As responsible teachers, whether we call ourselves humanists or not, we have to be particularly careful and even skeptical about theories from World 3 and always aware of how our perceptions (World 2) can deceive us about what we are dealing with in World 1. My attitude, for example, towards a German student in World 1 can too easily be influenced negatively by my World 2 view of him and my World 3 ideas about Germans in general.

Metaphors in Language Teaching Theory

Stevick also explores the use of metaphor to project theories of language teaching. He looks critically but not ungenerously at such ideas as Krashen's image of Affective Filter. He points out that the image or metaphor of a "filter" which can be raised or lowered and which keeps out data as well as letting it in obscures as much as it illuminates.

> Perhaps the most basic difficulty with the "filter" metaphor is that it has been called a "hypothesis"....From a Popperian point of

> view, its internally inconsistent vehicle and its dubious tenor make it difficult to understand, and virtually impossible to test. (p. 50)

Later, Stevick remarks:

> Another "impermeable membrane" picture is implied in Krashen's insistence that "learning" and "acquisition" are separate, so that "learning" cannot become "acquisition". The matter is complicated by the fact that Krashen seems sometimes to use the two words for processes, but at other times to stand for products. (p. 54)

Although Stevick is, on the whole, positive in his attitude toward humanistic teaching and seems to identify closely with many of its objectives and attitudes, he is critical of such aspects of it as "teaching as a 'therapeutic' activity" (p. 66). He specifically warns:

> The techniques of psychotherapy are powerful tools, and as such can bring about great harm as well as great benefit. If, even with the best of intentions, they are used in order to impose a set of patterns, they may subvert freedom—an intolerable cost to be set against whatever good they may do. (pp. 66-67)

Previously, when talking about the emphasis on "warmth and social relationships" (p. 66), Stevick notes:

> Like Brumfit, this writer finds such an approach...somewhat wanting in subtlety, and like Brumfit would prefer emotional involvement to be a by-product of some shared activity..., rather than as a direct objective. (p. 66)

Humanist or Humanistic?

I have only two small criticisms of this stimulating and rewarding book. The first is that, in addition to warning us of the harm as well as the benefit that may come of regarding teaching as therapy, Stevick does not consider in greater depth the question of whether it is ever really ethical to administer therapy rather than to teach. Too many humanistic teachers tend to treat their students as if they were patients, whereas students come to the classroom expecting teaching, not therapy.

Since the introduction of humanist techniques into language classrooms, I feel it has become far too easy for teachers to confuse not only their students but also themselves about the purposes of a language lesson. We have, as teachers, no more right to practice therapy than car mechanics have to pull teeth or perform neurosurgery. Just as we expect mechanics to attend to our cars rather than to our brains, so language students expect language teachers to be experts at teaching a language, not at mental hygiene. I wish Stevick had said this even more clearly in this remarkable book.

My other criticism is that Stevick, with his great breadth of learning, does not clarify the distinction between the adjectives "humanist" and "humanistic." The word "humanist," as Stevick surely knows far better than I do, refers to a great tradition of learning associated with the Renaissance. It freed scholarship from theocratic restraints and includes figures like Erasmus, Luis Vives, Giambattista Vico, and more recently, Irving Babbitt. All this was long before the adjective "humanistic" was coined to describe a very different, allegedly student-centered movement that uses subjects like English as vehicles of personal growth and liberation, often seeming to ignore the mechanics of the subject itself.

Stevick himself is, I feel, an example of a great humanist writer rather than a humanistic one. His readiness and ability to explore the complex issues of his chosen field with a generosity and depth of intellect as well as a critical sensitivity to cant and obfuscation, the weight of his learning and the clarity and lightness of his style, his central emphasis on avoiding intellectual rigidity and doctrinaire positions—all these characteristics are in the older humanist, rather than in the newer, and quite different, humanistic tradition. And so is this well-designed and fascinating book.

The New Cambridge English Course. Michael Swan & Catherine Walter. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Reviewed by Paul Jaquith

For a number of years now, the *Cambridge English Course* (CEC) has set the standard for the dozens of intermediate basal series flooding the market. From time to time at book fairs, I have heard book company sales representatives claim their text to be as good as Cambridge's, yet there are few texts indeed that can actually make good that claim.

Teachers who have used the *CEC* in class have generally been more than satisfied with its performance. It is well organized, it provides a solid base for language instruction, and it is well suited for the large classes English teachers are all too often asked to face. Moreover, students usually find the lessons engaging and easy to understand.

Over the past two years, I have used the *CEC* very successfully in a variety of classroom situations in Japan, ranging from first-year senior high classes to upper intermediate adult classes. So I was quite excited when Cambridge came out with the new course.

In its advertising literature, Cambridge seeks to answer the question of why there should be a new *Cambridge English Course* by reminding us that ours is a changing profession. Indeed it is. As theories of language learning evolve, so do teaching methodologies. *The New Cambridge English Course* is partially in response to those changes. This is all well and good; it is important to keep abreast of the changes in our profession. But I think the new series is less a response to changing methodologies than a response to several years of feedback from teachers throughout the world who have actually been using the text. So much the better. The best compliment I can give *The New Cambridge English Course* is that it is significantly better than its predecessor.

This is not just a new edition of the old course; changes are apparent from the start. The text itself is larger, though not so thick, with a bright, bold cover; every page is filled with colorful pictures and drawings. Simply put, the text looks more interesting, more fun. Students will be drawn to it from the start.

Teachers who have used the old *CEC* will recognize a few of the lessons, but much of the material is new, and nearly all the old lessons have undergone substantial change.

For me, one of the most significant improvements in the course is the new class cassettes. In an effort to make the listening material authentic, or to at least simulate authentic language, many of the tape sequences in the old course were nearly unintelligible, even for native speakers. That problem has been cleared up. The new tapes are clean and crisp and give students a good model of natural, if not authentic, language.

Other nice additions to the course are a language summary, two pages of revision exercises, and a test, after every sixth lesson. This helps busy teachers with evaluation, and the clearly defined goals give students concrete proof of progress. In addition, a vocabulary index has been added to the back of the book, making it much easier for students to track down words they either want to review or have been trying to learn.

The student cassette, a single cassette sold separately from the class cassettes, has also been greatly improved and is now coordinated with the practice book as well as the regular text, providing students with listening exercises they can do at home. In the old course, neither the student tape nor the practice book was particularly worth the added expense. But the improvements in both make them a valuable addition to the new course. The new practice book is much better suited to assigning homework, since students do the work on a separate piece of paper; this, of course, is much easier for the teacher as well. Unlike those on the old student cassette, the new

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listening exercises give the students opportunity to practice much more than pronunciation.

In all, *The New Cambridge English Course* is a significant improvement on what was probably the best text of its kind on the market. I cannot imagine the course disappointing a teacher looking for a good solid text to build lessons around. Inexperienced teachers will find it provides a firm and safe position to work from. In fact, they will probably learn quite a lot about teaching from the teacher's book.

East West. Kathleen Graves & David P. Rein. Oxford University Press, 1988.

Reviewed by Sarah Parsons

East West works to live up to its title. Published by Oxford University Press, *East West* uses American English and introduces information about the United States throughout the text, focusing on the American lifestyle in its Culture Capsules. But *East West* also includes many other nationalities and races through photographs, drawings, and information, with frequent mention of Japan, where the text was test-piloted. Possibly in an effort to bring the West to the East, authors Kathleen Graves and David P. Rein also steer away from gender stereotyping in occupation, habit, and language.

The three-book series is designed for adults and young adults, and the topics are appropriate for adult learners. For example, Book 1 deals with topics such as talking on the telephone, shopping for food, and formal introductions. Book 1 is for false beginners, Book 2 is for low intermediates, and Book 3 is for intermediate to high-intermediate students. The books are suitable for each level.

East West includes the student book, a workbook, a teacher's book, and cassettes. The student book is filled with colorful photographs and illustrations and attractive graphics. Black-and-white illustrations and graphics in the workbook, combined with brief tasks not requiring a lot of writing, help to insure that students really will use the workbook at home. The teacher's book is interleaved with the student book for easy reference. The teacher's book provides very detailed notes for every activity. At many points, these notes tell teachers exactly what to say to introduce an activity.

However, notes on ideas for activities beyond those in the student book are somewhat lacking. Further, when extension activity ideas are included, they occasionally lack originality. For example, in an exercise discussing clothing, an optional teaching suggestion is to have students describe what they are wearing.

The first page of the student book introduces Control Language—expressions such as "I'm sorry, I don't understand" and "Please speak more slowly." The teacher's book suggests starting off the course with these expressions. It is refreshing to see a teacher's book that tells you to "consider the use of native language a last resort" (p. xi), rather than simply advising you to explain difficult concepts in the students' mother tongue.

East West emphasizes speaking and listening activities, and the cassettes sound natural. The text uses pairwork frequently. For information gap activities, the information for both halves of the pair is on one page, and each student book includes a half-page-sized mask to cover the partner's information.

Each unit contains an opening conversation, speaking exercises, a checklist of the grammar, functions, and topics in the unit, listening exercises, and one page of reading. The reading is a serial story called "The Moon Over India." This story is also available on a separate cassette. Each episode entails a good bit of reading and probably would be assigned as homework in a conversation-oriented class. The story line is interesting, involving students in an exciting, international detective story.

As a complete set, *East West* offers a strong series for both students and teachers.

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Three Little Words: A, An, The. Alan S. Brender. McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Japan Ltd., 1989.

Reviewed by Curtis Chapman

As much as I am comfortable in English, yet, there are a couple of hurdles that I don't think I will ever overcome in my acquisition of English. The biggest hurdle is the use of articles.

Upon deciding to review Alan Brender's *Three Little Words*, I wrote to a Japanese friend in the United States, who happens to be an accomplished linguist, and asked her to comment on some of the difficulties associated with learning articles. Her statement above reflects the frustration which surfaced throughout her reply. Despite many years of study, she has yet to master English articles. Perhaps I have felt a similar kind of frustration as a language teacher when my answer to a question about articles has been less than satisfactory.

A, *an*, and *the* are just three little words, but the concepts they embody—the notions of indefinite and definite—are among the most problematic in the whole of English grammar. Most native speakers can tell you when to use which article. Most, however, including ESL teachers, myself among them, cannot always clearly explain why or outline all the exceptions to any one rule.

A Systematic Approach

Alan Brender, in *Three Little Words*, has attempted to devise a systematic approach for explaining English articles more simply to ESL learners. According to the author, there are certain "thought processes involved in determining which article, if any, to use" (p. 5). The key apparently lies in correctly identifying the type of noun that the article precedes.

The system in Brender's systematic approach is a flow chart which appears inside the front cover. This chart, supposedly representing a native speaker's internal thought processes for selecting articles, has 52 distinct steps. There are many boxes and arrows, all pointing to the correct choice of article or sometimes leading to OMIT. Brender's thesis is that familiarity with these thought processes will help ESL learners acquire a "feel" for using articles.

Just looking at this chart would probably not be very helpful for most ESL learners. The real strength of the text is its workbook format. In each chapter, the author takes the information contained in one of the flowchart boxes and tries to explain, with prose and numerous examples, the principles underlying the right choice of article. Then each explanation is followed by exercises which learners can use to gauge their current ability or rate of progress. An answer key for all the exercises appears at the end of the book.

Self-Study Guide

I would now like to examine rather closely the idea of application; i.e., what kind of ESL learner can benefit most from the study of this book, and in what kind of situation that learner can benefit. Brender states, "This book can be used by individuals on their own or by teachers in the classroom" (p. iii). I agree completely with the first half of Brender's suggestion that interested ESL learners can use this book on an individual basis. I do not agree as strongly with the second half concerning classroom use, and I will explain why later.

First of all, with reference to individual use, *Three Little Words* would be an excellent self-study guide for ESL learners with near-native proficiency to use on their own. For those with sophisticated grammatical ability and extensive vocabulary, repeated use of this text could indeed help develop that "feeling" or "sense" so necessary for using articles correctly. Low

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and mid-level learners, however, may experience considerable difficulty with the grammatical principles as well as with the vocabulary used to explain them.

Three Little Words answers many questions about articles that are sometimes very difficult to address. Teachers should read Brender's work and determine its suitability for their particular students. It would be well worth pointing out to very high-level ESL learners that such a reference exists and recommending that it be used for self-study purposes. Teachers could then confer individually with students and offer guidance whenever specific questions arise.

Classroom Use

On the other hand, it is not exactly clear from *Three Little Words* how a "feel" for articles can be cultivated in a traditional classroom setting. There is no question that Brender presents a system which illustrates certain principles governing the use of articles in a condensed form. Nevertheless, a chart with 52 steps covers a lot of details. Once all the exceptions to each step are factored in, the information load becomes almost unmanageable. The possibility exists that students, even those at a high level, may question the value of learning a grammar with so many variables.

My personal approach to teaching articles would be to work only with carefully chosen features—preferably beginning with the simpler concepts and moving gradually up the scale. Unfortunately, *Three Little Words* does not point to factors which make one rule any easier or any more difficult than another. Are the steps ranked according to the degree of complexity? Is it best to begin with Step 1 and continue progressively until Step 52? Does Step 30 have fewer exceptions than Step 40? As Brender's text exists now, teachers will have to base their choice of sequence purely on instinct or locate another reference. A teacher's guide would be of tremendous help.

Answers to other, more fundamental questions may help streamline the information presented in *Three Little Words* even further. For example, what is basic to the distinction between definite and indefinite? Does the inherent singularity of *a* and *an* restrict their usage? (The etymology of *a* and *an* shows a historical link to the root meaning "one.") Does *the* still retain aspects of its prior function as a demonstrative? (The etymology of *the* shows a historical link to the Old English demonstrative *se*, meaning "that.") These are questions for linguists and ESL teachers to answer, not students.

Summary

Overall, Alan Brender's book is a valuable contribution because he attempts to make sense of English articles in a way that ESL learners may be able to understand. Perhaps learners can make the most progress by considering Brender's "system" or "thought processes" on their own, bits at a time. Using selected portions of the text as part of a class may be worthwhile, depending on a teacher's ability to explain rules clearly and to choose an orderly sequence of steps.

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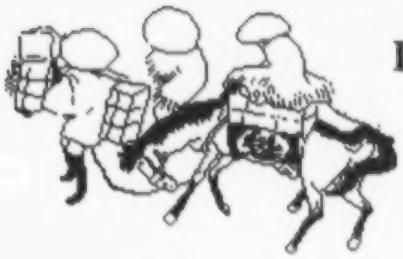

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

Summer Workshop for the Development of Intercultural Coursework at Colleges and Universities. July 17-26, 1991. The Institute of Culture and Communication, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii. The workshop is for college and university faculty who wish to develop courses in intercultural and international topics. **Internationalization Forum.** October 1-15, 1991. The East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii. The forum is for those with professional interests and responsibilities dealing with international relations in education, local government, or voluntary organizations. The theme of the 1991 forum will be "Nationalism and Internationalization." The forum will establish a global network of internationally minded professionals wanting to meet, exchange information, and discuss communication and collaboration across national boundaries. For more information, contact: Larry E. Smith, Institute of Culture and Communication, East-West Center, 1777 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96848, U.S.A. Telephone: (808) 944-7634.

International Conference on Teacher Education in Second Language Teaching. April 17-19, 1991. City Polytechnic of Hong Kong. Conference themes are Developmental Approaches, Research, Action Research, Inquiry-Based Strategies, and Innovations in L2 Teacher Education. For more details, contact: City Polytechnic of Hong Kong, Department of English, Tat Chee Avenue, Kowloon, Hong Kong. Telephone: (852) 788-8894.

1st International LiCCA Conference. April 5-7, 1991. University of Pretoria. Languages in Contact and Conflict in Africa (LiCCA) is an international macro-sociolinguistic research project which aims at a detailed description of language use in anglophone African countries in order to provide data and insights for language policies from a unitary, nonracial, democratic, and nonsexist perspective. The LiCCA Conference will be preceded by a symposium on **Language, Thought, and Culture: A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective.** April 2-4, 1991. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. For more information, contact: LiCCA Office, c/o Elma Kock, University of Pretoria, 0001 Pretoria, South Africa.

RELC Regional Seminar on Language Acquisition and the Second/Foreign Language Classroom. April 22-26, 1991. SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, Singapore. The seminar will survey recent developments in SLA theories, assess the applicability of SLA theories to the classroom, survey the impact of SLA-based methodologies, and identify how trends in SLA research will affect classroom teaching in the 1990s. For more information, contact: The Director (att: Seminar Secretariat), SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025. Telephone: (65) 737-9044.

IATEFL 25th International Conference. April 3-6, 1991. Exeter University, Exeter, Devon, England. Areas of interest are: Business English, CALL, ELT Management, Learner Independence, Literature, Phonology, Research, Teacher Development, Teacher Trainers, Testing, Video, and Young Learners. For more information, write: IATEFL, 3 Kingsdown Chambers, Kingsdown Park, Tankerton, Whitstable, Kent, England CT5 2DJ.

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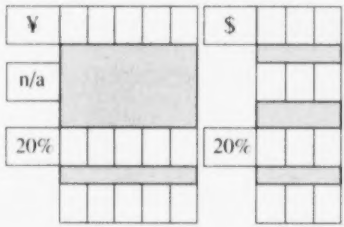

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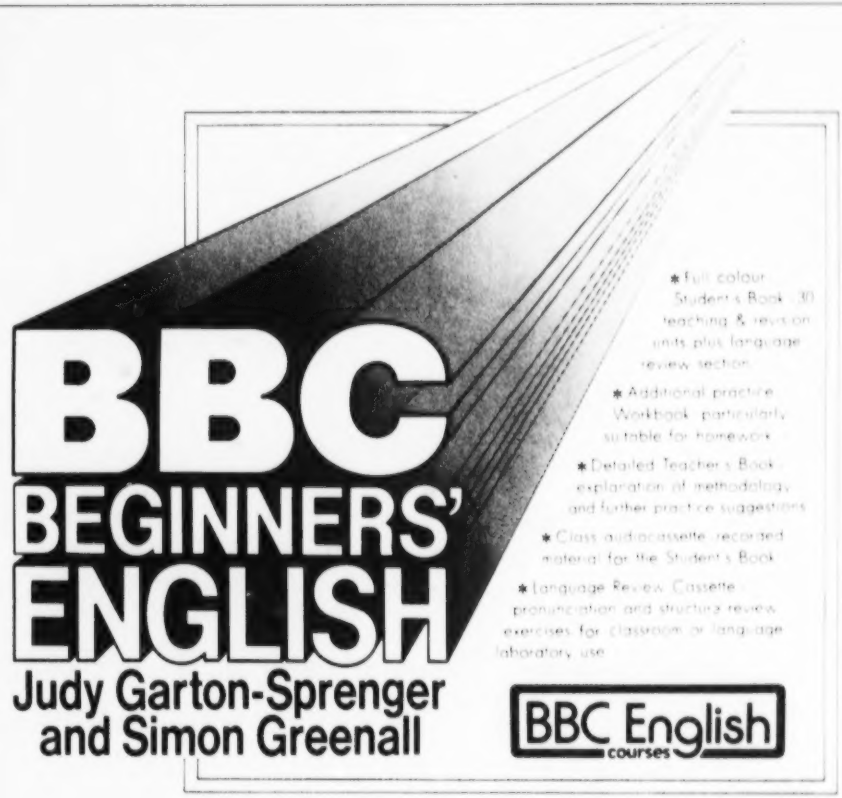
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